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An HISTORICAL

ACCOUNT

OF THE

BRITISH TRADE

OVER THE

CASPIAN SEA;

WITH THE

Revolutions of PERSIA.

VOL. IV.

00104587

Frontispiece of Vol. IV.

Blackey delin.

Meyer sculp.

Nadir Shah

[illegible] according to Act of Parliament

THE

REVOLUTIONS

OF

PERSIA

Containing the

HISTORY

Of the celebrated USURPER

NADIR KOULI,

FROM HIS

BIRTH in 1687, 'till his DEATH in 1747.

To which are added,

Some particulars of the unfortunate reign of his ſucceſſor ADIL SHAH.

VOL. II.

By JONAS HANWAY, Merchant.

LONDON.

Sold by Mr. DODSLEY, in Pall-mall; Mr. [illegible] LAR, Mr. VAILLANT, and Mr. PATTERSON, in the Strand; [illegible] mbard-Street; and Mr. [illegible] LOCK, in Cornhill. MDCC[illegible]

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOHN EARL of HYNDFORD,

Viſcount INGLESBURY, and GRANGE,

Lord CARMICHAELL of CARMICHAELL,

Knight of the moſt ancient order of the THISTLE, one of the lords of his MAJESTY's bed-chamber, lord-lieutenant, and principal ſheriff of the county of LANARK, one of his MAJESTY's moſt honourable privy-council, and one of the lords of the police in SCOTLAND.

MY LORD,

THE protection I received under your LORDSHIP's miniſtry at the RUSSIAN court, authoriſes this teſtimony of my gratitude. The count[illegible]s of perſons in your LORD-

SHIP's

SHIP's high ſtation, is a circumſtance which ought to afford pleaſure in the reflection; particularly when providence has proſpered our labours abroad, and enabled us to return to our native country, there to live under the happy government of that good prince, whom your LORDSHIP ſo worthily repreſented.

The firſt part of this work gives an account of ſome points of moment to the commerce of this nation, which fell within the compaſs of your LORDSHIP's miniſtry. I was a witneſs then, and ſtill have the ſatisfaction to remember, with what zeal and attention your LORDSHIP endeavoured to ſupport the trade of this nation over the CASPIAN SEA.

This volume which I have now the honour to preſent to your LORDSHIP, is the reſult of my enquiries in PERSIA. It contains the hiſtory of great military atchievments, and events that ſeem to have excited the attention of the whole world: indeed the memory of them, will, to all appearance, be preſerved to the lateſt poſterity. I am entirely ſenſible that how glorious ſoever ſuch atchievments may appear to vulgar apprehenſions, there can be nothing truly great, that is not conſiſtent with the laws of GOD, and the happineſs of ſociety. The purſuits in which your LORDSHIP has been engaged, and the important negotiations you have conducted, were calculated to promote and protect liberty; not to enſlave or oppreſs mankind. Theſe, my LORD, have been the object of

your

your care: in theſe you have been long exerciſed with great honour and ſucceſs; and by theſe you have gained the affection of foreign princes, as well as of our own ſovereign.

Politeneſs joined with dignity, a juſt diſcernment with an eaſy addreſs, and a facility of expreſſing the nobleſt ſentiments in the moſt becoming language, are endowments univerſally allowed to your LORDSHIP: ſuch qualities have juſtly recommended you to the eſteem of that prince, who makes the welfare of his ſubjects the great end of his government. May your LORDSHIP long enjoy, under his happy reign, all the pleaſures and advantages which are due to your diſtinguiſhed merit. I am, with great reſpect,

MY LORD,

Your LORDSHIP's

moſt obedient

humble ſervant,

London,
January, 1753.

Jonas Hanway.

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[a] Viz. FATEY ALI KHAN KHAJAR.

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VOL. IV. PART I.

THE BIRTH AND LIFE OF NADIR KOULI,

FROM 1687, TILL HIS PUTTING TÆHMAS SHAH IN POSSESSION OF MESCHED IN 1727.

CHAP. I.

The name of the PERSIAN *uſurper, his birth, captivity, robberies, and employment in the ſervice of a* BEG, *whom he murders; he marries the daughter of the deceaſed, and retires into the mountains: his engagement in the ſervice of the governor of* KHORASAN: *he commands an expedition againſt the* OUSBEGS, *acquires great honour, and is afterwards diſgraced.*

THE Sovereign of the univerſe, who fixes the periods of empires, and reſtrains the wild ambition of princes, had now prepared an inſtrument of his vengeance to chaſtiſe the AFGHANS, whoſe cruelties had filled PERSIA with blood. Their triumphs drew near an end: the hour approached, in which the PERSIANS were to take ample ſatisfaction for all the ravages committed by thoſe uſurpers, from the death

1727. of GURGHIN KHAN [a], to their invasion of PERSIA [b], and for all the dreadful calamities they had occasioned during that period [c].

About this time appeared, with a more distinguished eclat, NADIR KOULI, the history of whose life and actions will ever seem wonderful, because they are really so, and not the fictions of romance, or the flattery of panegyrists: characters like his, will excite the curiosity, and command the attention of posterity, so long as the lives of great men, and accounts of great actions, continue the object of historical enquiry. We shall here find a man, whose birth and beginning were so obscure, as with difficulty to be traced out; conducting to an issue, with amazing resolution and steadiness, opportunities he had worked out for himself; planning with deliberation and foresight, the fabrick of his future fortune; and carrying his designs into execution, with an unwearied application, till, like other mighty conquerors before him, he became terrible to ASIA, and the undoubted arbiter of the east. He changed his name, as he changed the situations of his fortune, which has occasioned some perplexity: his real name was NADIR KOUL, or NADIR KOULI [d]. NADIR, both in the TURKISH and PERSIAN languages, signifies wonderful; which epithet is used by the MAHOMMEDANS to design the particular attribute of the deity, as we ordinarily say the Almighty; tho' the use and custom of PERSIA gives it to people of the lowest rank of life. When SHAH TÆHMAS made him a khan [e], as we shall have occasion to relate, he honoured him with the addition of his own name; and this last is one of the highest dignities that can be bestowed by the monarchs of PERSIA. He was then TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN [f]; and tho' KOUL signifies a slave, in this sense it is the highest badge of honour in the east. Afterwards, when he became the sovereign of PERSIA, he reassumed his name NADIR, with the addition of SHAH [g]; tho' as he must be ever considered as an usurper, the name by which he has been most known, and probably will

[a] In 1709. [b] In 1722. [c] Till 1727. [d] KOUL, in TURKISH, is a slave; and NADIR KOULI, signifies the slave of the wonderful: for the idiom of the language fixes the genitive on the antecedent noun, so that instead of NADIRI KOUL, they say NADIR KOULI. [e] Noble or chieftain. [f] Which signifies the lord, who is a slave of TÆHMAS. [g] NADIR SHAH, or NADIR the king.

will continue to be known, to poſterity in EUROPE, is TÆHMAS[k] KOULI KHAN.

Though authors ſeem at length agreed about his original name, their accounts differ in ſome particulars with regard to his birth, his family, and firſt appearance in life. As to himſelf, he ſometimes boaſted of the meanneſs of his extraction; at others, policy or caprice induced him to claim a relation to GINGHIZ KHAN, the great TURKUMAN conqueror, and alſo to TAMERLANE. I have not yet ſeen any account ſo ſatisfactory and conſiſtent, as what I received in PERSIA; and I am the more inclined to acquieſce in it, becauſe, tho' there are very few reports of things, in which the PERSIANS agree[l], yet in the circumſtances I am now about to relate, people of the moſt underſtanding, and of the beſt intelligence, unanimouſly concurred.

According to theſe accounts, NADIR was born in the year 1687, at a village, or more probably in a tent, a few days journey[k] to the ſouth-eaſt of MESCHED, not far from KÆLAT[l]. He was deſcended from the AFSHARS, who are a tribe of TARTARS, and ſubjects of PERSIA: they live for the moſt part by huſbandry, and ſupply the PERSIANS with horſes and cattle. The name of NADIR's father was IMAM KOULI, whoſe ſituation of life was ſuch, that he earned his bread by making caps and ſheep-ſkin coats, which is the apparel of the loweſt of the common people in PERSIA. NADIR himſelf was bred up to no other employment than that of a ſhepherd, and being only thirteen years of age when IMAM KOULI died, he was left in ſo poor a condition, that he was obliged to gather ſticks in the woods, for the ſupport of himſelf and his mother, and carry them to market on an aſs and a camel[m], which were his only patrimony. 1687.

It

[k] This orthography ſeems moſt agreeable to the PERSIAN pronunciation: but this, as well as other ORIENTAL words, are variouſly wrote by different authors, as TAMAS, TAHMAS, &c.

[l] Whether it has been from this cauſe, or that few people have travelled in PERSIA, I find the ſeveral accounts which have been written of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, are, for the moſt part, very erroneous; ſo that in the proſecution of this work, I ſhall chuſe rather not to ſay all that I have heard, than to advance any thing, of the truth of which I am in the leaſt diffident. [k] A day's journey is commonly reckoned 24 miles. [l] I do not find this place in the maps; but I ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention it as a ſtrong hold, and the repoſitory of the treaſure taken from the MOGHOLS.

[m] In proof of this I was told an anecdote, pretty remarkable, and much to his honour. After he was exalted to the throne and ſovereignty of PERSIA, a perſon named SAIDAR, who had been his

It is recorded of him, that when he was returning in triumph from his conqueſt of INDIA, he happened to paſs near the place of his nativity, where he made a ſet ſpeech to his chief captains, in which he related in what manner he had paſſed the early part of his life; and, in particular, mentioned the feeding his father's camel, concluding to this effect: "You "now ſee, to what a height it has pleaſed the Almighty to exalt me; "from hence learn not to deſpiſe men of low eſtate."

1704. About the year 1704, when he was 17 or 18 years of age, the OUSBEG TARTARS made an irruption into KHORASAN, where they put many of the inhabitants to the ſword, and carried others into ſlavery; among the laſt were NADIR KOULI and his mother: ſhe died in captivity, but he
1708. made his eſcape in 1708, and returned to KHORASAN. From this time we hear no more of him, till with ſome of his companions he robbed a flock of ſheep[a]; the money which this produced, enabled him to retire into the mountains: however, we do not find that he continued the pro-
1712. feſſion of a robber for any length of time, but entered into the ſervice of a BEG, by whom he was employed as a courier. He was once charged with diſpatches of importance to the PERSIAN court at ISFAHAN, and ſent in company with another courier, as is frequently practiſed in PERSIA. Whether NADIR was ambitious of being the ſole carrier of theſe diſpatches; or whether his fellow-courier did not travel faſt enough; or for ſome other ſecret reaſon, he killed him. After his arrival at ISFAHAN, he told his ſtory ſo well, that he procured admittance to the miniſters

companion and fellow-labourer in ranging the woods, was created a khan, and granted the privilege of wearing the black heron's feathers on the left ſide: this is one of the higheſt marks of favour in PERSIA, for their kings wear theſe plumes upon the right, as a badge of their ſovereignty. This man died at KISLAR, on an embaſſy to RUSSIA. NADIR, upon conferring thoſe honours upon him, ſpoke theſe words, "Do not grow proud, but remember the aſs, and the picking of ſticks." And ſo late as 1745, KELEK BEG, a *yurbaſhi* or captain, declared, that NADIR KOULI, having formerly borrowed of him 50 batmans of wheat, which is about the value of thirty ſhillings of our money, he had often importuned both NADIR KOULI and his brother, who was afterwards IBRAHIM KHAN, for payment of it; and that at length they did repay him thirty batmans of the fifty. What is ſtill more remarkable, and more convincing of the truth; after he aſcended the throne of PERSIA, he took notice of this incident in a public manner, and reproached KELEK BEG for his unmerciful importunity, but did not pay the ballance of this debt of poverty, nor take any further notice of the man.

[a] Not of his father's, as ſome writers mention, for he was already dead; nor do we find (tho' his uncle might be in better circumſtances) that his father was ever maſter of a flock of ſheep.

miniſters of SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN, to whom he aſſigned ſuch plauſible reaſons for his conduct on the road, that he was not only acquitted, but received preſents, and was ſent back with anſwers to the letters he had brought. His maſter, however, received him with ſuch a countenance, as gave reaſon to ſuſpect that he meditated his deſtruction. NADIR perceiving this, reſolved to kill his maſter; to which he was the more induced, from a violent paſſion he had conceived for his daughter, whom he had demanded in marriage, but was refuſed. After the murder was perpetrated, he took the lady away, and retired into the mountains. One effect of this enterprize was the birth of RIZA KOULI MYRZA, whoſe genius and diſpoſition had ſo great a reſemblance with his father's. This deſperate action having acquired him a reputation for courage, ſome of the domeſtics of his late maſter, the BEG, joined him, and they became robbers: in this ſtation they continued for ſome time, as favourable opportunities occurred. NADIR at length offered his ſervice to BABULU KHAN governor of KHORASAN [o], by whom he was accepted in the capacity of a gentleman uſher [p]. 1712.

It may ſeem ſtrange, that a chief of a gang of free-booters, ſhould be received into the family of a governor of a province, and have an honourable office beſtowed on him. But this will not appear ſuch a matter of ſurprize, if we conſider the great extent of country, and that NADIR's robberies were for the moſt part in MAZANDERAN, which is three or four hundred miles diſtant from MESCHED; add to this, that a man of perſonal ſtrength and bravery generally meets with a favourable reception in PERSIA, without being much queſtioned concerning his manner of life. Beſides, the revolt of MIR VAIS had alarmed the eaſtern provinces, as it gave occaſion for the TARTARS to make frequent inroads; ſo that men of a promiſing figure, 1714.

or

[o] He had alſo the title of BEGLER BEG, or lord of lords. Theſe I have had occaſion to explain; there are not above three or four in the empire; of whom one is always fixed in KHORASAN: this province has been generally conſidered as a kingdom, and the government given to the king's ſon, or neareſt relation: ſome ages are paſt ſince a wall was built along this frontier, to prevent the incurſion of the TARTARS, of which there are ſtill ſome remains; but SHAH ABAS the GREAT removed ſeveral thouſand families from other provinces, and brought them hither, alledging that a wall of fleſh was the moſt effectual barrier againſt an enemy; and NADIR after this example fixed ſeveral families of JEWS and CHRISTIANS, as well as MAHOMMEDANS, in MESCHED, to ſome of whom he lent money to trade, to others lands were aſſigned to cultivate.

[p] ESIK AGASSI.

1714. or remarkable for their gallant behaviour, were ſure of being acceptable; and thus we may reconcile the conduct of the governor of KHORASAN.

The PERSIANS are all ſuppoſed to be ſoldiers upon occaſion; and it may be preſumed, that NADIR's reputation for courage and great perſonal ſtrength, were recommendations more prevalent than virtue, or any polite accompliſhment. But without being bred at court, from the ſtrength of his own genius and diſcernment, he was a maſter of the arts of addreſs, and having a mind unreſtrained by any moral conſideration, he inſinuated himſelf into the affections of thoſe, whom he afterwards made no ſcruple to deſtroy. He behaved ſo well in this new ſervice, that he won the heart of his maſter; and, under the ſpecious pretence of deſiring to pleaſe, he concealed his ambition. The ſatisfaction he expreſſed in his preſent ſituation, induced his companions to believe, that to be faithful in the cauſe he eſpouſed, was the virtue he aſpired at moſt; however, he affected a particular zeal for ſome, whilſt he ſhewed a coldneſs for others, as they ſeemed more or leſs inclined to pleaſe him.

1717. The diſtreſſes[q] of PERSIA increaſing, he had not been long in the ſervice of BABULU KHAN, before a command in the army was given him, in which he behaved with great intrepidity, in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the TARTARS of KHIEVA and BOKHARA, who frequently made inroads on

1719. the frontiers of KHORASAN. EZADALLAH being already maſter of HERAT, and the KOURDS in the weſt making incurſions into IRAC AGEMI; theſe TARTARS[r], who are generally called OUSBEGS[s], came this year in a body of above 10,000 men, and began to lay waſte the moſt fertile plains of KHORASAN, plundering the inhabitants, and carrying many thouſands into captivity. In this emergency BABULU KHAN collected all his forces, which did not exceed 6000 men, and of theſe part were infantry. His officers ſhewed a reluctance to try their fortune with ſo unequal a force, againſt a people of ſuch known bravery as the TARTARS. NADIR KOULI, however, had different ſentiments of the matter, and from his experience of the valour of the KHAN's troops, he offered his ſervice to march at their head againſt theſe ravagers; declaring at the ſame time, that he would engage

[q] See Vol. III. page 62, 63, &c. [r] Of independant TARTARY. [s] This word we have mentioned to ſignify free and independant.

gage his life upon the event. NADIR's military virtues were evidently superior to those of the officers about the KHAN, though he was not then above 33 years of age. The KHAN was so sensible of this, that he had already given him the command of 1000*; and not having the least doubt of his fidelity, he accepted the offer, and conferred upon him the command of his troops, during the intended expedition, whilst himself remained in the city, to keep good order, and prevent the inhabitants from following the example of those of HERAT, who had revolted three years before. Several of the officers refused to act under this new general, but their place was soon supplied by others, whom NADIR approved of. 1719.

The OUSBEGS were already advanced to the banks of the river TEDJEN, within a few days march of MESCHED. NADIR having with great application provided what was necessary for the expedition, marched at the head of his troops in search of the enemy, who were pillaging at large; however, the news of the approach of a PERSIAN army brought them together, and they prepared for battle; their numbers being almost double to those under NADIR's command. We have no particular account of this action, but in general terms, that the TARTARS, according to their ordinary custom, charged with great fury. NADIR having selected a proper ground, and encouraged his men, stood the shock; and when the TARTARS by their own impetuosity were in some disorder, the PERSIAN troops made a general discharge of their fire-arms, then falling on with their sabres and battle-axes, put them to flight, destroying near 3000, and retaking all their plunder and captives, which were very considerable.

NADIR, elated with this his first victory, returned in triumph to MESCHED, where he was received with great expressions of joy. The fire of his ambition now began to blaze, nor could he suppress the consciousness of his services, but demanded to be confirmed in his office of general, under the command of BABULU KHAN: this governor assured him that he would write to court in his favour, and that nothing should be wanting on

* Commanders of 1000 are called MIM BASHIS. As few readers can retain a remembrance of the explanation of PERSIAN words, I shall avoid them as much as possible; but when they necessarily occur, I shall occasionally mention their signification, tho' the same words should have been already explained in other parts of this work.

on his part, to reward his merit. Whether it was that BABULU KHAN did not act ingenuously and agreeable to his promise; or that the weak administration of SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN evaded the promotion of NADIR, is uncertain; he was however much incensed at his disappointment. What added to his resentment, was to see a person much younger than himself, and a relation of BABULU KHAN, without either experience or abilities, placed in his command. Under these circumstances, NADIR demanded of the KHAN the reasons of so unjust a conduct; and with a ferocity peculiar to him, made no scruple to declare his opinion, that the KHAN had not acted as a man of honour. This insolent behaviour obliged the governor to alter his conduct; so that from the highest commendations of NADIR's valour, he condemned him to be beaten, in the severest manner, on the soles of his feet [t]. What contributed to this disgrace, was the envy of NADIR's abilities as a soldier, among several officers of distinction in the PERSIAN troops. It is easy to imagine that a man of so imperious a spirit, could but ill brook such indignities; he therefore retired from MESCHED to seek some new adventure.

CHAP. II.

NADIR *retires to* KÆLAT, *and is well received by his uncle. From thence he retreats to the mountains, where he forms a strong party, and robs for several years. The* AFGHANS *take* ISFAHAN. SEF O DIN BEG *deserts* SHAH TÆHMAS. NADIR's *uncle obtains a pardon for his nephew of the* SHAH. NADIR's *treacherous conduct in seizing* KÆLAT; *he beats a strong party of the* AFGHANS, *takes* NICHABUR, *and reinforces his army with* 1000 *men.*

1719. NADIR being thus turned loose into the world, applied his thoughts immediately how to retrieve his fortunes, and do himself that justice, which he could not obtain of BABULU KHAN. His uncle [u], a chief

[t] This is common to persons of the highest rank in PERSIA. See Vol. I. page 256.

[u] It may perhaps seem strange, that NADIR's father should have been a cap-maker, and his uncle chief of

chief of one of the tribes of the AFSHARS, commanded at KÆLAT, a strong hold, about ten days journey from MESCHED: to him he applied, and complained of the hard treatment he had met with in the king's service. His uncle entertained him for some time, till by his intrigues he began to discover ambitious designs; and NADIR thus becoming an object of jealousy, was obliged to retire. 1719.

NADIR was now determined to seek a support by the arts of violence, in which he was a thorough proficient; experience having taught him, that he could not procure a subsistence in a manner suitable to his vast desires, by any other means. It is probable, he had already planned a design of getting possession of KÆLAT; however, he retired, for the third time, into the mountains, where he returned to his old trade of robbery.

MAGHMUD having invaded PERSIA, and compelled the unfortunate HUSSEIN to yield up his capital, together with his diadem, the provinces were involved in great confusion and distress: this afforded the better opportunity to NADIR, to collect a body of men of desperate fortunes, many of whom had already served under him as soldiers. After robbing several caravans, he soon acquired riches enough to bring together the number of seven or eight hundred men of approved resolution; and having fixed a rendezvous in the mountains, they made incursions into KHORASAN, and the adjacent provinces, laying the country under such contributions as they pleased to impose. 1722.

The AFGHANS, though in possession of ISFAHAN, were not sufficiently numerous to make a rapid conquest of the whole empire; several provinces and cities in the heart of it, as well as the frontiers, refused to submit; and thereby cut them out work for some time. As to TÆHMAS, the fourth son of HUSSEIN*, who made his escape from ISFAHAN, and was now

a tribe, and governor of KÆLAT; but not so strange as NADIR's own fortune. When, and by what means, the uncle became chief of a tribe, I know not; but it is not so difficult to comprehend, how one brother may be in easy circumstances, and the other poor; whilst we see so many revolutions in human affairs in EUROPE, and many more in ASIA.

* His first son was SEFFIE MYRZA, whom the ministers of SHAH HUSSEIN had once caused to be confined, from an apprehension that he had too much courage and sagacity to suffer that infamous administration, for which they were so distinguished; and it is presumed that this prince was afterward put to death by the AFGHANS.

1722. now conſidered as the lawful heir of the PERSIAN monarchy, he was rather a fugitive himſelf, than in a capacity of ſupporting order and government in thoſe provinces not yet ſubjected to the AFGHANS; and was
1724. now content with an obſcure life, in the province of MAZANDERAN. In the interim, the TURKS ſeized upon the provinces in the weſt and ſouth weſt; and the RUSSIANS conquered the weſtern coaſt of the CASPIAN, including great part of GHILAN. However, as ſoon as TÆHMAS was informed that the king his father had abdicated his right to the ſovereignty; he, in quality of ſucceſſor, took the title of SHAH, by which name we ſhall call him, tho' he can hardly be ſaid to have been more than a nominal king.

1726. Whilſt he was negotiating ſecret treaties with the provinces that profeſſed any fidelity to him, or ſending embaſſies to implore the aſſiſtance of the neighbouring ſtates, NADIR extended his lawleſs ſovereignty in the eaſtern frontiers, living on ſpoil, and exacting what he thought neceſſary for the ſupport of himſelf and his followers.

1727. About five years paſſed under theſe circumſtances; when, at length, TÆHMAS collected a little army; but his father's fortune *ſtill purſued him*. One of his principal generals, SEF O DIN BEG, a chief of the BAYOTS[z], having given ſome offence, and being apprehenſive of puniſhment, fled from TÆHMAS's camp with the troops under his command, which were no leſs than 1500 men, and joined NADIR KOULI, who was then in the ſame province of KHORASAN. The union of their forces compoſed a body of 2 or 3000 men, which the adjacent country was compelled to ſupport: this formidable body was within 30 leagues of KÆLAT, ſo that NADIR's uncle began to be much alarmed, leſt his nephew ſhould attempt to diſlodge him from his ſtrong hold: in order, therefore, to ſupport a good underſtanding, he wrote to him in very obliging terms, intimating that he had *now a fair* opportunity of making his fortune, by engaging in the ſervice of his lawful ſovereign SHAH TÆHMAS; who, he was ſure would pardon him, and all his followers. NADIR ſeemed to reliſh the propoſal, and deſired his uncle to procure the king's pardon, which he would

[z] Theſe are the inhabitants of DEST BAYAD, a diſtrict in KOUHESTAN.

would gladly accept: accordingly the uncle repreſented the caſe to the SHAH, who, tho' he knew NADIR to be a moſt notorious offender, yet as he was in great need of ſo brave and experienced an officer, with ſo conſiderable a body of men, immediately ſigned his pardon, and ſent it to KÆLAT. 1727.

The uncle no ſooner received this writing, than he diſpatched it to his nephew; upon the receipt of which, NADIR KOULI ſet out for KÆLAT, in company with SEF O DIN BEG, under an eſcort of 100 men of his beſt troops. He had now a convenient opportunity of exerciſing his genius in the art of treachery. His uncle received him with great kindneſs, and entertained him and his followers as perſons to whom he had done a ſignal ſervice, and from whom conſequently he apprehended no harm; at the ſame time he ſhewed them all the honour and regard due to perſons of rank and condition. NADIR, on the other hand, had not forgot the indignities offered him five years before; neither was he ignorant of the motives of his uncle in procuring the pardon, nor of the king's views in granting it: but whatever moral conſiderations ought to have influenced his conduct, his thirſt of power ſilenced the dictates of conſcience: ſo that he determined to embrace the opportunity of an hoſpitable reception, and the ſpecious pretence of an obliged gueſt, to make a ſacrifice of his benefactor. For this purpoſe he had left orders that 500 more of his beſt men ſhould follow him the next day, and conceal themſelves near the fortreſs of KÆLAT, and there be ready at a ſignal appointed.

Having thus concerted his meaſures, the ſecond night after his arrival he ordered his 100 men within the caſtle to kill the centries, and ſhut up the reſt of the garriſon, to the number of 200 men, in their barracks, whilſt he went himſelf into his uncle's chamber and murdered him. As ſoon as he made the ſignal, his 500 men were let in at the gates, and he became abſolute maſter of the fortreſs without ſhedding much blood. Thoſe of the garriſon, who did not chuſe to ſhare his fortune, he ſet at liberty. The next day he diſpatched meſſengers with the news of his ſucceſs, ordering the remainder of his men to join him; and now inſtead of changing his reſidence continually, as the apprehenſions

1727. of an enemy, or other reaſons of convenience might render neceſſary, he eſtabliſhed his head-quarters in this fortreſs. KÆLAT includes a conſiderable ſpot of ground, the natural ſituation of which, with the aſſiſtance of ſome art, has rendered it almoſt inacceſſible. He continued there for ſeveral months, levying contributions. The ſucceſs of this enterprize was the more grateful to him, as this place was not far diſtant from that of his birth: his poor relations and friends in the neighbourhood were relieved by his bounty, and the humanity with which he treated moſt of the inhabitants of the adjacent country, induced numbers to enliſt themſelves in his troops; ſo that from this time he in ſome meaſure appeared as an independent ſovereign, eſpecially as SHAH TÆHMAS's authority was not acknowledged at MESCHED, MELUCK MAGHMUD, an ABDOLLEE chief, having got poſſeſſion of that city.

NADIR being thus become formidable, carried his views beyond the plunder of defenceleſs peaſants: he aſpired at the delivery of his country from her foreign enemies, particularly the AFGHANS, who had lorded it over the PERSIANS with the utmoſt barbarity for five years: but altho' he appeared as a ſovereign, he did not pretend to wage war againſt the AFGHANS in any other name than that of SHAH TÆHMAS. As he was conſcious that the SHAH muſt have greatly reſented his killing his uncle, under pretence of accepting the royal pardon, he reſolved to do ſome ſignal action in behalf of the king, that might obliterate the remembrance of his conduct at KÆLAT.

With this view he prepared for an expedition againſt the AFGHANS, who were maſters of the neighbouring city NICHABUR*, where they had a garriſon of above 3000 men. NADIR's forces exceeded this number, but being unaccuſtomed to ſieges, and deſirous of action in the field, he determined to make uſe of a ſtratagem to draw the enemy out of their garriſon: the AFGHANS, who conſidered NADIR rather as a free-booter, than the general of a formidable body of forces, apprehended no great danger from his neighbourhood. Their troops, to the number of 600, were ſecurely marauding, when NADIR detached about that number of

* NICHABUR, ſometimes called IRAN, was formerly the capital of KHORASAN, till ABAS the [illegible] abliſhed the tomb of IMAM KOULI RIZA at MESCHED.

of his cavalry, who attacked them unexpectedly, and cut them to pieces: upon this, the governor with his whole garrison issued forth to fall upon the PERSIANS, who immediately retreated towards BANRAHAD, a defile in the mountains, which separates the provinces of KHORASAN and ASTRABAD; this was the rendezvous appointed. The AFGHANS pursued them for several leagues[a], till they came to this defile: NADIR, in the interim, marched with 1500 of his men, and under the favour of a wood, which covers these mountains, he concealed his men at the entrance of the pass. The AFGHANS, not suspecting any other enemy to be near, followed the 600 men with an impatience of resenting the loss they had just sustained at NICHABUR. As soon as they had well entered the defile, which is very narrow, the 600 PERSIANS faced about, whilst NADIR with his body of 1500 men, fell upon them in rear, with such impetuosity, that the astonished AFGHANS incapable of acting with their cavalry, and suspecting themselves surrounded by a great army, became an easy prey, and few of them escaped the slaughter. 1727.

After dividing the spoil taken upon this occasion, NADIR returned to NICHABUR, the gates of which were opened to him: he took possession of it in the name of SHAH TÆHMAS, charging his troops not to injure any of the inhabitants, declaring that his intentions were to deliver them from the tyranny and usurpation of the AFGHANS, and to support them in their fidelity to their true sovereign; as he knew that necessity only had induced them to submit to their late masters. The effects belonging to the AFGHANS he divided among his soldiers; and the humanity with which he treated the inhabitants, was so remarkable, that without forcing a single person to join him, he obtained a reinforcement of near 1000 men.

[a] The entrance of this defile is about eight or ten leagues distance from NICHABUR.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

NADIR KOULI *hears of the diſtreſs of* SHAH TÆHMAS *at* FARABAD; *deſires his pardon, and obtains it. He joins his forces with thoſe under the command of* FATEY ALI KHAN, *whom he afterwards kills, and acquires the ſole command of the army. He conducts* SHAH TÆHMAS *to* NICHABUR, *and from thence to* MESCHED. SHAH TÆHMAS's *devotion in that city.*

1727. WHILST NADIR was preparing at NICHABUR for new expeditions, he received intelligence that SHAH TÆHMAS was reduced to great extremities. This prince had been pent up in MAZANDERAN, as a kind of dependant on FATEY ALI KHAN KHAJAR[a], who had during the troubles taken poſſeſſion of that province, which being fortified by the mountains that ſurround it, the inhabitants refuſed to ſubmit to the dominion of the AFGHANS. TÆHMAS in the mean while treated with the TURKS and the RUSSIANS, but he was ſo far from receiving ſuccours from either, that they had divided great part of his dominions, as already mentioned: he was therefore obliged to take up his quarters at FARABAD[b]; from whence, in caſe of danger to his perſon, he could embark on the CASPIAN SEA. Theſe circumſtances were favourable to NADIR, who made no doubt of procuring a full pardon for all his offences: this he had the more reaſon to expect, as his laſt action againſt the AFGHANS had increaſed his military reputation, and made him conſidered, in ſome meaſure, as the inſtrument of providence for the delivery of his country. Having therefore cauſed his forces to advance to the confines of MAZANDERAN, he ſent to acquaint the SHAH of the affair at NICHABUR, and that himſelf and his troops were entirely at his majeſty's ſervice; adding, that he deſired to have the honour of waiting upon the king, to whom he would give an account of the reaſons of his conduct at the fortreſs of KÆLAT, which he held at the king's orders. Tho' TÆHMAS had received impreſſions much to the diſadvantage of NADIR, propoſals of this nature ſeemed to promiſe

[a] This KHAN was a native of ASTRABAD, whoſe inhabitants, as I have explained in Vol. I. page 302, are diſtinguiſhed by the name of KHAJARS. [b] This is the place mentioned in Vol. I. page 269.

promiſe ſome happy event, and were highly ſatisfactory; he therefore made anſwer, that NADIR might come with all ſecurity, and ſhould be received as his faithful ſervant. Accordingly NADIR, leaving his troops at ſome diſtance, ſet out with an eſcort of 100 cavalry for FARABAD. 1727.

FATEY ALI KHAN KHAJAR[c] having, as already mentioned, taken poſſeſſion of the province of MAZANDERAN, as alſo of ASTRABAD, headed a ſtrong party of KHAJARS, who are a very warlike people. TÆHMAS ſent a body of forces againſt him, whom the KHAJARS repulſed: but upon the king's taking a ſolemn oath to pardon them all, and that he would never, upon any conſideration, touch the life of FATEY ALI KHAN KHAJAR, but always treat him as a faithful ſervant; the KHAN on his part ſwore allegiance, and the KHAJARS, who were naturally attached to the SEFFIE family, became the only ſafe-guard of the king: they even engaged, that as ſoon as a favourable opportunity ſhould offer, they would recover MESCHED out of the hands of the rebel MELUCK MAGHMUD. For this purpoſe FATEY ALI KHAN had recommended NADIR to the king, as a very gallant officer, and one whoſe aſſiſtance was much to be deſired; he therefore received NADIR with open arms, and offered his ſervice to introduce him to his majeſty. NADIR's eſcort made but a contemptible figure with regard to their apparel and accoutrements, their merit conſiſting only in their ſtrength and valour. He ſaw that the KHAN was treated with the reſpect of a ſovereign prince, whilſt TÆHMAS had only the name of ſuch; and tho' he naturally conſidered his own merit as much ſuperior to that of the KHAN, yet, not to appear his rival, he affected great humility, and would not even ſit in the KHAN's preſence without great importunity.

NADIR being introduced to SHAH TÆHMAS, acknowledged the great obligations he was under to his majeſty for the free pardon which had been granted him; that however ſtrange his conduct might appear, the death of his uncle was ſo far from being a contempt of the royal clemency, that it ought to be conſidered as an expreſſion of his gratitude to the king; for that the caſtle of KÆLAT was now at his majeſty's command, which he

[c] This is the father of MAHOMMED HASSAN, by whom I was robbed in 1744, of whoſe conduct there is an ample account in Vol. I. Page 301.

1727. he had very good reaſon to believe it would not have been, had his uncle remained in poſſeſſion of it. He then related the affair of NICHABUR, in which he made it evident, that he had given ſuch a ſhock to the power of the AFGHANS in thoſe parts, that it would very much facilitate the conqueſt of HERAT; and that he did not doubt but in a ſhort time FATEY ALI KHAN KHAJAR and himſelf ſhould reſtore the kingdom to their majeſties, the true deſcendants of the SEFFIES, whom thoſe ſavage invaders the AFGHANS had ſo highly injured.

This diſcourſe was uttered in ſo reſpectful manner, mixed with ſo noble a boldneſs, that the SHAH could not but expreſs his ſatisfaction, and told him, he hoped the hour would come, when he ſhould be able to reward his ſervices in a manner ſuitable to his great merit. NADIR then obtained a pardon for SEF O DIN BEG and all his followers, telling his majeſty, that tho' he could not commend the appearance of his troops, he would anſwer for their experience, valour, and fidelity to their true ſovereign.

Matters being thus adjuſted to the mutual ſatisfaction of the SHAH and his new general NADIR, his troops, which now conſiſted of 4 or 5000 men, were ordered to enter the province of MAZANDERAN, and to join thoſe of FATEY ALI KHAN KHAJAR, ſo that the whole conſtituted an army of above 8000 men. NADIR made it his ſtudy to cultivate a good correſpondence with the KHAN, and by his humble deportment inſinuated himſelf ſo much, that there ſeemed to be no jealouſy entertained of him; whilſt the ſuperior genius which he demonſtrated, gave him an apparent aſcendency in the eſteem of the SHAH.

In the interim NADIR, whoſe ambition could not bear an equal, much leſs a ſuperior, had ſecretly inſtigated his creatures to complain of the conduct of the KHAN, with reſpect to the good order and payment of the troops, and the extravagant price of their cloathing. He alſo watched the KHAN very cloſely, and finding the king had already received impreſſions to the diſadvantage of this general, he took a favourable opportunity of acquainting his majeſty, that he had diſcovered a treacherous correſpondency between the KHAN, and MELUCK MAGHMUD the rebel-

governor of MESCHED; and that, under pretence of conducting the SHAH to the conqueſt of that city, as had been concerted, his intentions were to deliver him to MELUCK MAGHMUD, on condition, that whilſt the latter was to continue maſter of that city, together with the whole province, which their joint forces were to ſubdue, the KHAN ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of the ſouthern coaſt of the CASPIAN ſea; and as a proof of what he advanced, he produced letters of the KHAN, which he pretended to have intercepted. 1727.

It ſeemed improbable that the KHAN ſhould really have held ſuch a correſpondency, after having had TÆHMAS in his hands for ſome time; nor is it believed, that any change of circumſtances induced him to take ſuch deſperate meaſures: however, it was not the fortune of TÆHMAS to be much wiſer than his father HUSSEIN; and he gave the eaſier credit to the report, as he recollected that the KHAN had been in arms againſt him not long before; and that NADIR, who had given ſuch repeated proofs of his fidelity, could have no intereſt in deceiving him, to the ruin of that very man, who had ſo lately made a point of recommending him to his favour. NADIR affected a great concern, repreſenting to the SHAH, that his duty to his ſovereign was prior to all other conſiderations; and moreover, that it was impoſſible his majeſty could, with any conſiſtency, entertain hopes of recovering his dominions, whilſt he cheriſhed a ſerpent in his boſom, and truſted himſelf in the hands of men devoid of fidelity.

TÆHMAS, at length, believing the fact, was much perplexed with regard to the oath he had taken, never to hurt, much leſs to touch the life of, FATEY ALI KHAN. To which NADIR replied; "If your ma-"jeſty has taken an oath, I have not;" and thus, by a tacit conſent, the ruin of the KHAN was reſolved. This general, not ſuſpecting ſuch an intrigue againſt his life, came to court as uſual; when NADIR ordered a colonel[a], who was one of his creatures, to take an opportunity of killing him: but ſo great was the reputation of the KHAN, and his preſence ſo majeſtic, that the colonel was ſo much awed, that he put this buſineſs on

[a] This was the perſon whom I have mentioned in Vol. I. page 502.

1727. on his ſervant. NADIR having thus executed this pretended ſervice to his maſter, carried out the head on a ſpear, and preſented it to the ſoldiers, declaring the reaſon of the KHAN's death, and that thoſe who meant to be faithful to their ſovereign, could not diſapprove of the death of a traitor: that for his own part, he was reſolved to ſacrifice all the conſiderations of friendſhip and private intereſt, to the good of his country, and the reſtoration of his majeſty to his dominions. Theſe declarations, in ſome meaſure, ſatisfied thoſe who were moſt attached to the deceaſed; ſome who affected to murmur, as if there had been foul play, and that the KHAN had been cut off through the intrigues of NADIR and his creatures, were ſeized and confined.

1728. NADIR having thus removed the bar to his ambition, as a reward for this ſignal ſervice was conſtituted a KHAN [a], and had the command of the whole army given him: he now began to diſplay all the talents of an able miniſter and a great general, ſo that TÆHMAS truſted entirely to his conduct. He was a maſter of the art of improving advantages, and knew that his ſecurity, as well as the future advancement of his fortune, depended on that army, of which he was now the chief. As one of his peculiar characteriſtics was a piercing knowledge of men; he ſoon reſolved which officers to diſcharge, and whom to put in their place: he gained the affections of the common ſoldiers by an unwearied attention to every circumſtance that could tend to the promotion of their intereſt, particularly with regard to their being paid punctually, and buying their cloaths at an eaſy price. His firſt care was to engage his maſter to march his army into KHORASAN, where he aſſured him the inhabitants were ready to take up arms againſt the common enemy.

The proper meaſures being taken to ſecure the paſs of BANRAHAD, the army marched towards NICHABUR, the king himſelf commanding in perſon. TÆHMAS made his entrance there the 15th of MAY; on which occaſion the inhabitants proclaimed their joy in the ſincereſt manner. Their wiſhes ſeemed to preſage his reſtoration, which they were the more inclined to believe, from the pleaſure they received in being the firſt city that was relieved

[a] This made him NADIR KOULI KHAN, but we do not find him called by that name, becauſe he ſoon afterwards was honoured with the name of the SHAH, and was called TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN.

lieved from the yoke of the AFGHANS, at a time when they leaſt expected 1728.
ſo happy an event. It was an acceſſion to their joy, that this revolution was brought about by a perſon whom they had conſidered only as a robber, and whoſe power as ſuch they dreaded equally with that of the AFGHANS; but who was now verifying the aſſurances he had given them a few months before, that he meant to reſtore the PERSIAN diadem to the true heir of SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN. The AFGHANS in thoſe parts, diſheartened by the great loſs they had ſuffered in the affair of BANRAHAD, and unable to recruit, retired from the neighbourhood of NICHABUR, without attempting to ſuccour their ally MELUCK MAGHMUD, governor of MESCHED.

Under theſe circumſtances, NADIR found no difficulty to augment the SHAH's army; the anxious wiſhes of the people, to ſee themſelves free from the yoke of the AFGHANS, and their deſire of eſtabliſhing their lawful ſovereign, ſoon brought a ſtrong reinforcement, ſo that this general was now at the head of near 18,000 men, a larger army than had for a long time appeared in thoſe parts.

NADIR was impatient under every unneceſſary delay, and prepared immediately to march with all his forces againſt the ABDOLLEES, who under the command of MELUCK MAGHMUD, had taken poſſeſſion of MESCHED: they no ſooner heard of the defeat of the AFGHANS in the defile of BANRAHAD, and that SHAH TÆHMAS had entered KHORASAN with a numerous army, than they began to prepare for a defence. But MESCHED being a place of little or no ſtrength, and the inhabitants intirely averſe to the rebel government, they retired from that city; ſo that when NADIR arrived there with his troops, the SHAH made a triumphant entrance, without effuſion of blood. The citizens, delivered from oppreſſion, received TÆHMAS with the higheſt demonſtrations of joy; and NADIR, who was perſonally known in that city, where BABULU KHAN had ſome years before treated him with great indignity, was now loaded with honours. The preſent ſituation of TÆHMAS's affairs, rendered him incapable of making his acknowledgments to NADIR in a pecuniary way; yet he was in the higheſt degree prodigal of his authority, as if he already meant to conſtitute him his ſovereign, rather than his general. And as the

1728. higheſt mark of dignity which he could confer on him, according to the cuſtom of the PERSIAN kings, was to give him his own name, from hence forward he ordered him to be called TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN[f]; by which name we ſhall diſtinguiſh him, till he wreſted the diadem from his maſter.

TÆHMAS thus laviſh of his favours, may be ſuppoſed to have acted upon principles of gratitude, as men of probity are generally inclined to think this a duty; but where the expreſſion of this virtue is alſo an honour conferred on him who receives it, nothing can be more reaſonable, than to expect a ſuitable return. However, he ſeemed to be ignorant, that when princes have nothing left to beſtow, they ſeldom receive any return for thoſe favours they have already conferred; nor is it ſtrange that it ſhould ſo happen with regard to princes, when we find it ſo almoſt every day in common life.

This prince, who partook much of the genius of his father, with regard to the religious turn of his mind, rejoiced at ſo favourable an opportunity of paying his devotion at the tomb of IMAM[g] RIZA; for it had been long obſerved as a duty of the kings of PERSIA[h], to make a pilgrimage once in their life-time to this tomb, as the TURKS do to MECCA and MEDINA. And the perils which he had gone through ſince the battle of GULNABAD, with his providential reſtoration, by means of his general TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, naturally inſpired his mind with a deeper ſenſe of gratitude to heaven.

PART

[f] Some authors mention this event after the battle of DAMGOON the next year; but it is probable that he might now have a double motive beſides that of gratitude, as generoſity, or policy, to make his name known in that of the general; which, if we judge from the event, was however a very falſe policy.

[g] One of their prophets or chief expounders of their religion. [h] SHAH ABAS the GREAT, who was an able politician, as well as a great ſoldier, obſerving that the PERSIANS carried great wealth out of his country every year in their pilgrimages to MAHOMMED's tomb, employed all his art to reſtore the reputation of IMAM RIZA; and not only diſcredited the notion of going out of their own country upon ſo long a journey, which in ſome meaſure was interdicting theſe pilgrimages, but knowing that his people had, as is indeed common among chriſtians, a fond inclination to aſcribe a more peculiar ſanctity to ſome particular place; in order to ſhew them an example, he cauſed a very magnificent moſque to be built on the tomb of this prophet at MESCHED, and made the pilgrimage himſelf with all his court. By thus ſhewing an example, MESCHED became a place of great reſort, and journeys to ARABIA were out of faſhion. The kings his ſucceſſors made it a law to themſelves, to begin their reign by a pilgrimage to this tomb; and in proceſs of time, it was very rare for any PERSIAN of the ſect of ALI to make the pilgrimage of MECCA or MEDINA.

PART II.

FROM THE RECOVERY OF THE WHOLE PROVINCE OF KHORASAN IN 1728, TO THE EXPULSION OF SULTAN ASHREFF OUT OF ISFAHAN IN 1729.

CHAP. IV.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN *reduces* KHORASAN *and* HERAT. *He returns in triumph to* MESCHED, *with the head of the governor of* HERAT. SHAH TÆHMAS *ſends an embaſſador to the* OTTOMAN *court. The* TURKS *ſend* SULIMAN EFFENDI *into* PERSIA. ASHREFF *deſtroys* SAIID ACHMED KHAN *governor of* KHERMAN, *and prepares to attack* TÆHMAS SHAH. ASHREFF *marches to* DAMGOON, *and is defeated; he retreats to* ISFAHAN, *and encamps his trooops at* MOURTCHAKHOR.

WHILST TÆHMAS SHAH was offering up his prayers to the deity, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN preſented incenſe to his idols of ambition and military glory, the only deities he ſeemed to reverence. Reaſons of policy might juſtly induce TÆHMAS SHAH to remain in MESCHED, till his army ſhould be in a condition to march towards ISFAHAN: and it was natural for his general TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, to recommend this ſtep, as it left him at liberty to act with the more boundleſs authority in the army. The country of KHORASAN was well known to him in every part, in conſequence of the many excurſions he had made, as an officer in the army, as well as the chief of a band of robbers. The beginning 1728.

1728. beginning of this year he marched at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, to reduce the other cities and towns of the province, which had revolted, and eſtabliſhed an independent government, or ſubmitted to the AFGHANS.

The news of SHAH TÆHMAS having entered MESCHED in triumph, where he now took up his reſidence, facilitated the enterprizes of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN; ſo that the greateſt part of the towns and villages ſent deputations, and profeſſed themſelves entirely devoted to the intereſt of their lawful ſovereign. Before this year was ended, we find all the vaſt country of KHORASAN ſubjected, and the AFGHANS obliged to retire, without daring to give battle. NADIR returned to MESCHED, not ſo much out of inclination, as to make an appearance of reſpect for his maſter, and to conſult about the future operations of the war.

It was about ten years ſince the inhabitants of HERAT, which is near the frontiers of KHORASAN, had in conſequence of the victory obtained by the young EZADALLAH, ſhaken off the PERSIAN yoke, and erected themſelves into a kind of republic[1], together with the whole province of that name. It does not appear, that this young uſurper yet remained in that government, which he had been the great inſtrument of forming, tho' he had for ſome time maintained the chief office in it. It is certain, however, that this republic became formidable to the neighbouring country, and was at this very time meditating the invaſion of KHORASAN: but the ſucceſs which TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN had againſt the AFGHANS at NICHABUR, and afterwards through the whole province of KHORASAN, put a bar to the execution of their project.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN having repreſented to the SHAH, the facility with which he could reduce HERAT, obtained a permiſſion to march to that province, with about 12000 men: he no ſooner encamped under the walls of the city, than the inhabitants naturally inconſtant, and diffident of their ability to oppoſe the fortune and valour of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, ſubmitted to him, and delivered up their chief, together with the garriſon.

[1] It is preſumed, as they were in alliance with the AFGHANS, whoſe ſeat of empire was ISPAHAN, and that the ABDOLLIES of HERAT were in ſome meaſure tributary to them.

garrison[k]. The PERSIAN general having caused the former to be be- 1728.
headed, left a garrison in HERAT; he treated the inhabitants with so judicious a mixture of mildness and severity, according to their different circumstances, that he seemed to have secured their allegiance; he then prepared to march back to MESCHED, agreeably to the orders he had received from the SHAH. Being returned victorious, with the head of the late governor of HERAT, he began to form a more important enterprize, than that of marching southward through the deserts of SEGESTAN, as the AFGHANS had done five years before.

In order to detach the TURKS from the interest of ASHREFF, whom they had with great reluctancy acknowledged as sovereign of PERSIA; TÆHMAS had in the mean time sent an embassador to the OTTOMAN court. This minister was received with more regard than he expected; for the news of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN's exploits having reached CONSTANTINOPLE, gave the TURKS a good impression of the state of the affairs of SHAH TÆHMAS. Tho' their interest was concerned to see PERSIA humbled, yet they did not much incline to support an usurper, whose imperious spirit had carried him so far as to pretend to an equality with the grand seignior. But in order to be informed more minutely of circumstances so interesting to them, they sent SULIMAN EFFENDI, an officer of trust, into PERSIA; of whom they soon learnt, that TÆHMAS already master of KHORASAN and HERAT, with a considerable army of choice troops, and a general of great reputation at their head, seemed to promise an approaching change in the PERSIAN empire.

In the mean time ASHREFF, after giving a check to a TURKISH army, 1729.
tho' it was the effect of accident rather than military strength, dreaded no evil from the fugitive TÆHMAS: he often mentioned him in terms so contemptuous, that to appearance he had persuaded himself of the impossibility of being molested by him.

After a tedious siege, he had at length made himself master of YEZD, which at different times had cost the AFGHANS much blood; KHERMANIA

[k] This action has been represented as a battle, in which the ABDOLLEES had 30,000 men; but I could never find any authority for that report, as a fourth part of that number in such a province would be considered a great army, under such distressed circumstances as the empire was then in.

1729. NIA had alſo ſubmitted to him. SAIID ACHMED KHAN, who was a near relation of the royal blood of the SHEFFIES, during the troubles had eſtabliſhed an independant ſovereignty in KHERMANIA, of which ASHREFF had not leiſure to diſpoſſeſs him by force of arms; but SAIID being in want of money to pay an army, and the impoveriſhed ſtate of the province making it impoſſible to raiſe ſufficient contributions for that purpoſe, his forces at length deſerted him. He then ſubmitted to ASHREFF, who was not only the neareſt potentate, but the only one who ſeemed to have any regal authority: deſiring him, however, to remember that he had only acted upon the ſame principles as ASHREFF himſelf, and therefore hoped to be received with the reſpect due to his quality, and with all ſecurity to his perſon; upon condition of which he profeſſed an entire devotion to the ſervice of this AFGHAN prince.

ASHREFF promiſed the KHAN his protection, under the ſanction of ſacred oaths, and let him know that he might repair to SHIRASS, with the people under his command, in all poſſible ſecurity: but no ſooner was he arrived there, than the governor ſent him priſoner to ISFAHAN, where he was beheaded. The province of KHERMANIA, and the country on the ſea-coaſt quite to BENDER ABASSI, thus becoming ſubject to ASHREFF, his dominions were extended farther than he had forces to guard them; for the cruelties and depredations committed from the AFGHAN invaſion till this time, having impoveriſhed the inhabitants to an extreme degree, he was in no capacity to maintain an army ſufficiently numerous to ſupport his authority over ſo vaſt a tract of country. As to the PERSIAN ſoldiers, they were as reluctant to enter into the ſervice of the AFGHANS, as the AFGHANS were diffident of their fidelity; and from KANDAHAR recruits could hardly be expected in great numbers; for HUSSEIN KHAN, the governor of that province, ſince the murder of his brother MIR MAGHMUD in ISFAHAN, conſidered ASHREFF rather as an enemy than a friend; and preſuming that he might ſhortly be driven out of PERSIA, he would hardly ſend him recruits, leſt by that means he might retire into KANDAHAR, and with the ſame authority that he put MAGHMUD to death, claim the ſovereignty of that province.

Spiritual

Spiritual and temporal power being interwoven in the cloſeſt manner by the MAHOMMEDAN law, the grand ſignior is ſuppoſed to reign over the TURKS in quality of IMAM[1], and ſucceſſor of the Caliphs. From hence he claims an authority over all MAHOMMEDANS of the ſect of the SUNNIS, ſo that ASHREFF, who was of that ſect, could not with any conſiſtency refuſe to acknowledge him as ſuch, without affecting an independent power. However, he artfully contrived to make his ſubmiſſion procure him what was more eſſential; for he obtained from the TURKS the acknowledgement of his being ſovereign of PERSIA, and of his holding that dignity and power according to law: and having thus made a puiſſant protector of a formidable enemy, he lulled himſelf into a ſecurity, as if his dominion was built on the moſt ſolid baſis. He had given RECHID BASHA, the TURKISH embaſſador, the kindeſt reception, and ſhewed him many marks of honour, during his reſidence at ISFAHAN. 1729.

Not to be wanting in a ſuitable return, the TURKS made great preparations for the reception of the embaſſador of ASHREFF, who arrived at CONSTANTINOPLE in JULY this year. Greater rejoicings could not have been made for the reception of a ſovereign prince returning in triumph. It is however very remarkable, that this AFGHAN affected a contempt of all the grand appearances, the military ſhews, and the roaring of cannon; for without looking on one ſide or the other, as he entered CONSTANTINOPLE, he continued to read his khoran. It is natural to preſume from this incident, that he endeavoured to raiſe the reputation of his countrymen for great ſanctity, and a divine zeal for the MAHOMMEDAN law, as practiſed by the TURKS: this ſort of conduct had been the chief cauſe, a ſhort time before, of ſaving his maſter ASHREFF, together with the AFGHAN army, from deſtruction; but the embaſſador now over-acted his part, and gave the TURKS impreſſions to the diſadvantage of his nation.

ASHREFF in the mean while enjoyed the ſweets of peace. The love of pleaſure is natural to mankind, and freedom from toil is generally ſuppoſed the beſt means to arrive at it. This prince was certainly a man of

[1] Chief of religion.

1729. of parts, very circumſpect, and an intrepid ſoldier: but like moſt other ORIENTAL warriors of diſtinction, he had no ſenſe of any moral obligation. He ſeemed now to be arrived at the higheſt point that the nature of his affairs would admit; and therefore it was natural to give ſome indulgence to his favourite paſſions. However he kept part of his troops in the field, whilſt he followed the exerciſes of hunting, and gratified his inclination in building. As to the pleaſures of women, they are but an ordinary conſequence of MAHOMMEDAN voluptuouſneſs, eſpecially when it is ſupported by an unlimited authority.

This prince, who had hitherto conſidered NADIR KOULI in no other light than as a robber, began now to look upon him as a formidable enemy. SHAH TÆHMAS had been ſo much the ridicule of the court of ISFAHAN, that the news of his ſucceſſes in the eaſtern parts of the empire did not ſeem to give the leaſt alarm to the ſolders, nor even to the officers of the army. They gave him the name of SEK ZADE, in alluſion to the word CHEIK [m] ZADE, the latter being ſon of the king, and the former ſon of a bitch: at the ſame time they expreſſed great ſatisfaction, that they ſhould at length have an opportunity of getting him into their hands. However proper it might be to encourage the common ſoldiers to think thus contemptibly of their enemy; ASHREFF, who had certain intelligence of his force, and the valour of his troops, thought it high time to provide for the ſtorm that threatened him: he therefore cauſed all the forces, as well thoſe on the frontiers, as in the heart of his dominions, to be joined to the garriſon of ISFAHAN. And in order to prevent any inſurrection in favour of TÆHMAS at CASHAN, KOOM, CASBIN, TÆHIRAN, YEZD, and other great cities and towns in his juriſdiction, he ordered all the PERSIAN inhabitants, who were capable of bearing arms, to leave their habitations and retire, under pain of death: he did the ſame at ISFAHAN.

Having made this diſpoſition, his whole force did not exceed 30,000 men, ſome of which were DARGUZZIS [n] and HASSARAIS [o]; a force, however, not much inferior to that by which his predeceſſor had obtained the

PERSIAN

[m] CHEIK EIDAR was the firſt founder of the SEFFIE dynaſty of DERGHESIN in the neighbourhood of HAMADAN.

[n] I perſume, the inhabitants

[o] Theſe people are ſuppoſed to come from the eaſtern parts of CABUL.

PERSIAN diadem. About the beginning of SEPTEMBER, he encamped his army without the walls of ISFAHAN; in which city he left 200 of his men in garrison, thinking that small number sufficient to keep this once vast capital in awe: for so miserably was this unhappy city reduced, by the incessant massacres committed by MAGHMUD and himself, that few of its inhabitants were left, except old men, women, and children. In a few days he began his march, with the ordinary pomp of a PERSIAN king. He directed his course by CASHAN and KOOM, to the plains of DAMGOON, in the province of COUMAS; where he arrived towards the close of the month, after having marched about 400 miles[o]. His intention was to have proceeded towards KHORASAN, and by attacking TÆHMAS in his new-established empire, prevent his accumulating more strength. 1729.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN had employed the greatest part of this year in augmenting and disciplining his troops. In the former he met with some difficulties, for the people not having yet worn off the impressions, which the valour of the AFGHANS had made on them, and knowing that they were to come to action immediately, joined him but slowly. He had, however, collected an army of near 25000[p] men; in the compleating, as well as disciplining of which, he had given such proofs of his abilities, as inspired his master with the greatest assurance of success. The measures which ASHREFF had taken, to prevent any revolt in favour of TÆHMAS, had occasioned many to offer their service to this prince; for as they had been turned out of their habitations, resentment as well as necessity, carried them where they were sure of being received.

The SHAH, thus upon the point of being restored to the throne of his ancestors, and urged by an impatient desire to revenge the disgrace of his father, and the blood of so many thousands of his subjects, had proposed to march to ISFAHAN, and compel ASHREFF to give him battle; but this design was laid aside. His sagacious general represented to him, the inconveniencies that would attend the length of the march; and moreover, that the measures which ASHREFF had taken at ISFAHAN, were certain

[o] When I write miles without distinction, I mean ENGLISH miles.

[p] Some writers make them much greater this number, and some much above it.

1729. indications that he meant to ſeek his majeſty; and conſequently, that the AFGHANS would be more hurt by the fatigue of their march, than benefited by the junction of freſh forces, ſeeing that ASHREFF had already collected all in whom he thought it ſafe to confide; he obſerved likewiſe, that the further he came from ISFAHAN, the more difficult and the more dangerous would be his retreat. However, not to bring the war into KHORASAN, nor loſe any advantages which his majeſty's faithful ſubjects the KHAJARS, BAYOTS, or any of the neighbouring countries might afford, it was determined to make ſome advance to meet ASHREFF. After ſlow marches, he accordingly arrived with the king, and the whole army, near the city of DAMGOON, before ASHREFF had entered thoſe plains. This ſituation was not far from that vaſt ridge of mountains, which run eaſtward along the ſouth coaſt of the CASPIAN SEA, which being well known to KOULI KHAN, in caſe of an extremity he could make a ſafe retreat. Having leiſure to chuſe his ground, he had already encamped his forces, and refreſhed his men for ſome days, when ASHREFF approached with his whole army.

The AFGHANS had been accuſtomed for ſome time to ſlaughter the PERSIANS, rather than to engage with them; and to put them to flight by their ſhouts, and the fierceneſs of their attack, rather than by their ſuperior ſtrength and knowledge of arms. As they were now equally confident of victory, they urged their general to begin the attack. ASHREFF however ſoon diſcovered from the advantageous ſituation of the PERSIAN army, that he had to do with a general of experience, and againſt whom he muſt proceed with great caution, eſpecially as his fate ſeemed to depend on the iſſue of the battle. Whilſt he was thus unreſolved, his officers repreſented to him, that upon the firſt report which ſhould be ſpread of their being afraid to attack the PERSIANS, the peaſants would no longer bring proviſions to their camp, and that they ſhould be compelled to fight hereafter at a greater diſadvantage.

ASHREFF having therefore made a proper diſpoſition of his forces, on the 2d of OCTOBER attacked the PERSIAN army with that impetuoſity, which the AFGHANS had generally found ſucceſsful. The PERSIAN troops

troops ſtood the ſhock, without giving way in the leaſt, returning their fire with perfect order, ſo that the AFGHANS could make no impreſſion on them. ASHREFF ſurprized, tho' not diſconcerted, at the diſcipline and ſilence of the PERSIAN troops, brought off his ſquadrons from the charge, and had recourſe to the expedient which he found of great uſe in his late action againſt the TURKS. He detached two bodies, each of 3000 men, commanded by the moſt experienced officers in his army, and ordered them to take a circuit, and charge the enemy in rear and flank, whilſt he attacked them in front. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, watchful in every quarter, prepared to receive the enemy; and repulſed them with ſuch valour, as flung them into great confuſion. After a general diſcharge of his artillery, it was his turn to attack; and falling furiouſly upon the AFGHANS, he obtained an eaſy victory. 1729.

What loſs was ſuſtained on each ſide is uncertain. It may be preſumed that of the AFGHANS was very conſiderable[p]: their camels, harquebuſſes, with all their tents and baggage, fell into the hands of the conqueror. The AFGHANS fled to TÆHIRAN, which they reached in about two days, tho' the diſtance is near 200 miles; from whence, after pillaging the inhabitants, and refreſhing themſelves, they made forced marches to ISFAHAN.

The day after the arrival of the AFGHAN army, ASHREFF commanded all the people of his nation, inhabiting that city, to retire with their effects into the citadel[q]: theſe orders were executed in ſuch a tumultuous manner, that it appeared as if the city had been taken by aſſault: the AFGHANS drove the other inhabitants from their houſes, deſtroying moſt of their effects which were not portable, and pillaging the ſhops of every thing that was valuable. After which, ASHREFF retired with his troops to MOURTCHAKHOR[r], where he encamped in an advantageous ſituation.

[p] As they carried off only 12,000 men from ISFAHAN, their loſs here muſt have been near 10,000.

[q] An incloſed building, which had been made ſince the invaſion of the AFGHANS.

[r] This place is about 25 miles eaſtward of ISFAHAN, according to report; but DELISLE does not mention it in his map.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN *engages the* SHAH *to remain at* TEHIRAN. *The battle of* MOURTCHAKHOR. ASHREFF *murders* SHAH HUSSEIN, *and flys from* ISFAHAN. *The city taken by the* PERSIAN *army. The* PERSIANS *revenge themſelves on the* AFGHANS. SHAH TÆHMAS *enters* ISFAHAN, *and gives his general* TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, *the power of raiſing money.*

1729. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, now jealous of his glory, proceeded with the utmoſt care, to prevent a reverſe of his fortune. The SHAH, thinking himſelf ſecure of victory over the fugitive AFGHANS, impatiently deſired to ſee ISFAHAN. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, on the other hand, ſeemed to act as if he was apprehenſive, that his ſovereign would come in for too great a ſhare in the reputation of his victories, and that his ſoldiers would conſider themſelves as acting rather under their king, than under their general. This neither conſiſted with his deſire of independency in the command of the army; nor with his ambition and thirſt of applauſe. He therefore took occaſion to repreſent to the SHAH, that his majeſty's preſence was no longer neceſſary to encourage his troops, ſince it was evident from their ſuperiority at DAMGOON, that the enemy was rather to be deſpiſed than feared; and he did not make the leaſt doubt, that he ſhould ſoon exterminate them; that ſo much depended on the precious life of their ſovereign, that ſhould any misfortune happen to him, his ſubjects could have no ſecurity of being relieved from the tyrannic yoke of the AFGHANS; that the courage which his majeſty demonſtrated, at the ſame time that it engaged the love and admiration of his ſubjects, made them more anxious for the preſervation of a life, of ſuch ineſtimable value; that this was the ſenſe of the army in general, which humbly intreated him to remain at TÆHIRAN, with a guard of ſix or eight thouſand men.

Theſe reaſons made an impreſſion upon the SHAH; he had an entire confidence in his general, and therefore ſuffered him to gather thoſe laurels,

which

which he might indeed have juſtly claimed as deliverer of his country, had he acted upon honeſt principles. He accordingly marched without obſtruction, proclaiming his victory in the name of SHAH TÆHMAS, and was every where received with acclamations of joy. He ſoon found his troops conſiderably augmented by crowds, who now voluntarily offered their ſervice, to give a finiſhing ſtroke to the ruin of the AFGHANS. 1729.

In the mean time, ASHREFF, expecting to be attacked, had made every preparation neceſſary to receive the enemy: not only his ſovereignty, but his life depended on the event. In the flattering hopes of repairing his loſs at DAMGOON, he exerted all his ſkill in the choice of a proper ſituation for his camp; in erecting batteries for his cannon; in covering them by intrenchments; and making the moſt advantageous diſpoſition of his troops.

The 13th of NOVEMBER, early in the morning, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN appeared with his army in order of battle: the PERSIANS marched up to the AFGHANS, and ſuſtained the whole force of their muſquetry, and part of their cannon, without diſorder. Being come cloſe to the enemy, they, in their turn, gave a general diſcharge. So regular and intrepid an attack, might have diſconcerted troops enured to the ſevereſt diſcipline. The aſtoniſhed AFGHANS ſeeing ſuch numbers fall, that hardly a ſingle bullet failed of execution[1], thought only of ſaving their lives by flying precipitately from the field of battle. The loſs they ſuſtained on this occaſion, was not leſs than 4000 men. The greateſt part of the AFGHANS who fled, reached ISFAHAN by three in the afternoon, and ASHREFF himſelf, with a ſmall number, returned at night. They pretended to have obtained a victory, but the cries and lamentations of their women and children in the citadel, ſoon diſcovered the contrary. There was alſo great confuſion in other parts of the city, inſomuch that the miſerable inhabitants, remembering the threats of the AFGHANS, in caſe a misfortune ſhould at any time befal them, expected nothing leſs than a general maſſacre. But the panic which had ſeized the

[1] The PERSIANS are excellent markſmen, and when they keep good order, they take aim, and muſt neceſſarily do great execution.

1729. the AFGHANS, diverted them from any ſuch cruel purpoſe, if they ever intended it.

ASHREFF, however, found time to glut his revenge, by imbruing his hands in the blood of SHAH HUSSEIN. This unfortunate prince, whom MIR MAGHMUD with all his horrid barbarity had ſpared, at length fell a ſacrifice to the diſappointment and rage of this cruel AFGHAN. Others of the royal blood are ſuppoſed to have fallen alſo on this occaſion; as to the daughters and female relations of HUSSEIN, he took them from the harram, determining to carry them off with him.

The AFGHANS, having now no other expedient, prepared for flight, and were buſied in collecting their ſpoil. Beſides the number of beaſts of burthen, to accommodate their women and baggage, they loaded ſeveral mules, and near 300 camels, moſtly with the treaſures and rich effects of the royal palace. As ſoon as night came on they left the city, in number about 12000, after having reigned as conquerors of PERSIA, ſeven years and twenty one days. ASHREFF perhaps ſtartled with the groans of the dying HUSSEIN, or having his whole mind employed in collecting his treaſure, or providing for his own ſecurity, had forgotten that the inactivity of the PERSIAN general, afforded an opportunity of glutting his revenge by ſome more ſignal cruelty; but he had not marched two leagues, when he ſent back his ATHEMAT DOULET, with a choſen party, it was ſuppoſed with orders to fire the city, and maſſacre all thoſe who might come in their way. This party was advanced to the royal gardens, within a mile of ISFAHAN, when ſome among the common people, concluding they were not come for any good purpoſe, collected ſeveral drums, which they beat in ſuch a manner, that the AFGHANS, apprehenſive that the PERSIAN troops had already entered the town, fled back without doing any miſchief, and continued their rout towards SHIRASS.

This precipitate retreat having left the capital unguarded, the peaſants of the neighbouring country, as well as the inhabitants, began not only to pillage the houſes which were abandoned, but alſo to rob one another: which unbridled licentiouſneſs created an infinite confuſion. Two days paſt under theſe melancholy circumſtances, in which the weak were obliged

to yield to the ſtrong, without any recourſe to either civil or military authority. 1729.

The 16th of NOVEMBER, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN detached a body of 1500 men, to diſperſe the mob, and take poſſeſſion of the royal palace, and gates of the city, in order to his own entrance. It may ſeem difficult to account for his not following the AFGHANS, after the battle of MOURTCHAKOR, which might have prevented their carrying off the riches of ISFAHAN: but we are to conſider TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, as unbiaſſed by any particular affection for the PERSIANS; that his glory was not arrived to maturity; and that, beſides the duty of a general to act cautiouſly with ſo artful an enemy as the AFGHANS, if we may judge from his conduct after he arrived at ISFAHAN, it is reaſonable to conclude, his deſign was to huſband the war, that his office as generaliſſimo might not become unneceſſary.

As ſoon as the KHAN entered the city, he took the proper meaſures for quieting the tumults of the people, occaſioned by the pillage already mentioned; and ordered a diligent ſearch for all the AFGHANS, whom neceſſity or choice had induced to remain there. Of theſe, numbers had concealed themſelves in the houſes of their relations or friends, in hopes to elude the ſearch. Many of them were brought into the public places and executed: theſe were a kind of victims to the ſouls of thouſands, who had been ſtarved to death by the ambitious policy of MAGHMUD, or for the ſame reaſons butchered in cold blood, during the reign of the AFGHANS. It is remarkable however, that TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN pardoned all thoſe, of whom the inhabitants of the city made a fair report, with regard to the humane manner in which they had executed their reſpective offices. In the interim, he received a deputation from the AFGHANS of CASBIN: theſe not only offered their allegiance to SHAH TÆHMAS, but alſo their ſervice as ſoldiers, and to engage immediately in his army. Such a reinforcement could not but prove agreeable to the PERSIAN general, ſo that in the name of his maſter he promiſed them a kind reception.

1729. The ſpirit of revenge did not ſtop with the ſlaughter of the AFGHANS of ISFAHAN: the people were furious at the ſight of every object that could raiſe in their minds the leaſt remembrance of their paſt ſufferings. MAGHMUD, when he was near his natural death, was taken off by violence as related; yet, as he was the founder of the dominion of the AFGHANS in PERSIA, they had at a conſiderable expence erected a magnificent mauſoleum to his memory. This edifice, according to the cuſtom of the eaſt, was built in a grove, and incloſed with a wall. Tho' this prince had been ſo inhuman a murderer, yet the ſuperſtition of the partners in his victories, induced them to offer their prayers at his tomb. This increaſed the indignation of the inhabitants of ISFAHAN, and added to their deſire of deſtroying it. Having obtained the permiſſion of the KHAN for this purpoſe, they levell'd this edifice to the ground, with the fury of an enraged mob; they would not even ſuffer the repoſe of his bones; and, to add yet a greater mark of contempt and abhorrence, in the very place on which this mauſoleum had been erected, they built a public jakes.

SHAH TÆHMAS, who was ſtill at TÆHIRAN, having received notice of what had paſſed at ISFAHAN, prepared to take poſſeſſion of his capital. He marched at the head of the greateſt part of the forces which were left with him, and arrived the 9th of DECEMBER following at GAZE, a village about ſix miles diſtance from ISFAHAN. Here he was met by his general TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN; whom the SHAH no ſooner ſaw, than he alighted from his horſe, as if he meant to pay him homage: the general diſmounted alſo, and ran to him in a reſpectful manner, to prevent this great mark of condeſcenſion; but the SHAH inſiſted upon walking a few paces with him, declaring that he could not ſhew too great a diſtinction to the perſon who had delivered his country, and driven his enemies from ISFAHAN. After a ſhort converſation he mounted again, preceded by his running footmen [t]; the KHAN following juſt behind him at the head of his troops.

TÆHMAS now made his entry into ISFAHAN, and was received with all thoſe demonſtrations of joy which the ſudden change, from the execrable

[t] Shatirs.

crable tyranny of the uſurper ASHREFF, to the gentle deportment of their legal ſovereign could inſpire. The remembrance of his misfortunes added all the tenderneſs of affectionate ſubjects, to the religious reſpect for the perſon of him who now appeared as the only ſurvivor of the SEFFIE family. But the tranſports of his joy were in a great meaſure ſuppreſſed, when he heard of the fate of the king his father, and ſaw the palace, which eight years before contained all the ſplendor of a court, exhibiting only naked walls; the remembrance that he was reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors, was not ſufficient to ſilence the dictates of humanity, in a breaſt formed to gentle impreſſions; and tho' a king, he was not aſhamed to weep. As ſoon as he entered the harram, an old woman threw her arms about his neck in great tranſports of joy; as he knew that ASHREFF had carried away his ſiſters and other relations, he was the more ſurprized to find this perſon to be his mother. This lady had, ever ſince the invaſion of the AFGHANS, diſguiſed herſelf in the habit of a ſlave, and ſubmitted to all the offices of drudgery, which are ordinarily impoſed on perſons in that ſituation. 1729.

The king, after enjoying the ſatisfaction to find one of his parents alive, prepared himſelf for the duties of a ſovereign prince. He received all thoſe who appeared before him in ſo affable and obliging a manner, that he won them entirely to his intereſt; and though their poverty was very great, they contributed as liberally as poſſible to the ſupport of the army, which was increaſed to near 40,000 men. TÆHMAS, whoſe tenderneſs of nature became his crime, inſtead of commanding his general to purſue and extirpate his enemies, gave way to a melancholy turn of thought. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN took occaſion from hence, to repreſent to him in a reſpectful manner, that his preſent ſituation ought to efface all remembrance of paſt diſgraces; the SHAH replied to this effect: "How "is it poſſible that my heart ſhould be open to joy; are my own "misfortunes, and thoſe of my people to be forgotten, ſo long as the "murderers of my father and brothers are yet at SHIRASS, where my "ſiſters, and other female relations, are held in ſlavery by the vile AF-"GHANS?" This was, in fact, to reproach TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN for his inactivity; for it was in his breaſt to have purſued them, without

1729. giving them the leaſt time to form any future project; but this general, true to his own principles, foreſaw that the remembrance of his ſervices would wear out of the minds of the people, unleſs to the office of generaliſſimo, he could add that of a prime miniſter, or at leaſt poſſeſs a power adequate to it. He therefore took this occaſion to repreſent to the SHAH, that he was very ready to march againſt the enemy, and finiſh the buſineſs of reſtoring to his majeſty all his dominions; but that he knew an army was not to be kept together without pay; and moreover, he had learnt from the experience of LUTF ALI KHAN, towards the cloſe of the unfortunate reign of his father, that the intrigues of a court often baffle the moſt glorious military operations; therefore, if his majeſty meant to compleat the work which was ſo happily begun, a power muſt be granted him to levy money for the payment of the army.

The king, who already deſigned to give his aunt in marriage to this general, and had actually made him BEGLER BEG of KHORASAN, was ſtartled at his demand of this extraordinary power of levying money; being ſenſible that ſuch a ſtep was in ſome meaſure to yield up the ſovereignty. He conſulted however with ſome of the principal officers, if there was any proper perſon to whom he could give the command of the army. Whether theſe officers were in the intereſt of the general or not, they declared their opinion, that the ſoldiers would not willingly ſerve under any other perſon than TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN; and conſequently, that it would be beſt to comply with his demand for the preſent, and reſent his inſolence hereafter, when there ſhould not be any ſuch preſſing occaſion for his ſervices. The KHAN, thus obtaining his point in ſo important an article, profeſſed an entire devotion to his maſter's ſervice: as a proof of which, he offered to take the field immediately, and go in ſearch of the AFGHANS. Accordingly before the end of DECEMBER this year, the PERSIAN army began their march towards SHIRASS.

PART III.

FROM THE TOTAL DEFEAT OF THE AFGHANS IN JANUARY 1730, TILL TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN IS CHOSEN KING IN MARCH 1736.

CHAP. VI.

ASHREFF *ſtops at* SHIRASS. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN *marches and defeats the* AFGHANS *the* 15*th of* JANUARY 1730. *Flight, diſtreſs, and death of* ASHREFF. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN *marches againſt the* TURKS, *and takes* HAMADAN *and* TAVRIS; *he makes a truce, returns to* HERAT, *reduces that province, and marches into* KHORASAN. *The* SHAH *marches to* ERIVAN, *obtains ſome advantages over the* TURKS, *and is afterwards defeated near the* ARAS, *and again at* HAMADAN.

ASHREFF did not entertain the leaſt thoughts, that the active TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN would remain long at ISFAHAN; on the contrary, he expected to be cloſely purſued. He had, beſides his army, a numerous caravan, of which part conſiſted in camels loaded with the plunder of ISFAHAN; yet the firſt day he marched ſixty miles. His intentions were to have taken the rout of KHERMAN, but hearing that the BALOUCHES were in arms, and concluding they would have no regard to him as a fugitive prince, poſſeſſed of great riches, he determined to march to SHIRASS. When he was informed that the PERSIAN army was loitering 1729.

1729. loitering in ISPAHAN, he had leiſure to plunder and ravage the province, as well as the city; and gave a looſe to all that barbarity, which the complicated motives of revenge and avarice can ſuggeſt to a mind naturally cruel. To this he was the more induced, by the conduct of the PERSIANS in ISFAHAN towards the AFGHANS.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN having ſupported the rigor of the ſeaſon with great conſtancy, after a march of twenty days arrived near ASTAKHAR *. His troops had ſuffered very much by the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and want of proviſions, the AFGHANS having laid the country waſte; ſo that the PERSIAN general found his army conſiderably diminiſhed, by mortality and deſertion. The AFGHANS having fixed their camp in an advantageous ſituation, determined to try the fortune of another battle. The PERSIAN troops, on their part, were impatient to give a finiſhing ſtroke
1730. to the AFGHANS. The 15th of JANUARY, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN attacked the AFGHANS with all his troops, with the ſame vigor as he had done at MOURTCHAKOR, and put them inſtantly to flight; inſomuch that he was apprehenſive, leſt by ſo feeble a reſiſtance they meant only to draw him into an ambuſcade. He had adopted it as a maxim, not to ſeparate his troops; being ſenſible that when a detachment is routed, their flight often throws a whole army into confuſion; and that the ſpeed with which the vanquiſhed fly, is but a precarious ſecurity to them, ſince the conqueror muſt overtake them at laſt.

An exceſs of caution, may bring on the ſame conſequences as raſhneſs: the KHAN's great circumſpection, upon this occaſion, gave the AFGHANS an opportunity to concert meaſures for their ſecure retreat, with all their valuable effects. The houſes, gardens, and narrow paſſages about the city of SHIRASS, were ſuch as rendered the approach difficult; and the KHAN reſolved to put nothing to an unneceſſary hazard, ſince it was plain that the pride of the AFGHANS was humbled to the duſt.

Theſe people had however taken a reſolution, to defend a paſſage in the north ſide of the mountains, which leads to the city; and dividing their men

* This city is near the ruins of the antient PERSEPOLIS.

men into platoons, made ſeveral diſcharges on the PERSIAN army: finding 173c
this did not hinder the PERSIANS from marching on in regular order, they fled to SHIRASS. ASHREFF being now reduced to the laſt extremity, ſent two of his principal officers to TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, with offers of delivering up the princeſſes, alſo the treaſure and other effects belonging to the crown, on condition that he and his troops ſhould retire out of PERSIA unmoleſted, and carry with them their families, arms, and baggage. To this the KHAN replied, that he would not comply with ſuch propoſals; on the contrary, that if they did not deliver up ASHREFF, he would put all the AFGHANS to the ſword. Theſe officers then pretended, that if the KHAN would grant them quarter, they would deliver up their chief: to this no definitive anſwer was given, but the deputies were permitted to retire.

In the interim ASHREFF, who was not ignorant that he had nothing to expect but a cruel death, if he fell into the hands of the PERSIANS, marched off in the night, and was got to ſome diſtance before the KHAN was informed of it. It may be preſumed, that it did not give him any great concern that he had miſſed the recovery of the princeſſes of the royal blood, however he might be affected with regard to the treaſure. In order to facilitate their retreat, the AFGHANS ſeparated into different bodies; it therefore became the more difficult to prevent their flight. The KHAN was not perhaps ſo much concerned about this, as his army imagined; ſince every circumſtance of his conduct proved that he was in his heart a TARTAR, and more diſpoſed to favour that nation than the natives of PERSIA; and thus we may, in ſome meaſure, reconcile a conduct ſeemingly ſo contrary to the natural activity of his genius. However, on his arrival at SHIRASS, he cauſed ſeveral of the AFGHANS, whom he found there, to be put to death: thoſe of any diſtinction he ſent priſoners to ISFAHAN with the news of his victory.

Altho' ASHREFF had made a ſudden and ſecret flight, ſome of the parties, which the KHAN detached after him, overtook the AFGHANS, and a ſkirmiſh enſued, but the PERSIANS were obliged to retreat. It is not eaſy to figure

1730. figure the difficulties which ASHREFF encountered; his riches ſerving only to increaſe his danger: beſides the great diſtreſs he was in for proviſion and forage, in the dead of winter, he was perpetually attacked on every ſide by the peaſants, till at length he was obliged to abandon his baggage, and after that to drop all the PERSIAN women and children, whom he was carrying into captivity. Some of his followers, tranſported with rage and jealouſy, killed their women, to prevent their falling into the hands of their enemies.

Under theſe circumſtances, it was impoſſible for them to keep together in any conſiderable body: their diviſion gave an opportunity to moſt of their captives to eſcape; and among theſe were the aunt and ſiſter of SHAH TÆHMAS. As ſoon as theſe ladies returned to SHIRASS, they were conducted honourably to the court at ISFAHAN, and the former was given to TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN in marriage. Hunger and thirſt, cold and fatigue, with inceſſant ſkirmiſhes, having diſperſed the AFGHANS; ASHREFF had with him only 200 men, when he was attacked by a body of the BALOUCHES[w]: he made a very gallant defence, but at length he and his people were cut to pieces.

Thus ended the uſurpation of the AFGHANS, but not the calamities of PERSIA. The death of ASHREFF was but a prelude to thoſe miſchiefs, which NADIR, that ſcourge of heaven, was to bring on this unhappy country. The weakneſs of HUSSEIN's reign, had been the firſt apparent cauſe, which by a chain of effects could hardly fail to plunge this miſerable nation into further misfortunes, not inferior to thoſe it had felt under the cruel AFGHANS.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN remained about two months in SHIRASS, and refreſhed his army. As ſoon as the ſpring approached, he directed his courſe towards HAMADAN: his name was already ſo formidable to the TURKS,

[w] There are different accounts given concerning the place where this AFGHAN chief ended his life, but as the deſert of SEGESTAN was his road to KANDAHAR, it may be preſumed that he was not very far advanced in that country when this event happened.

TURKS, that from his valour and experience, they dreaded the loſs of thoſe dominions, which they had conquered during the late troubles in PERSIA. If he was an object of terror to them, his conduct alſo gave umbrage at the court of ISFAHAN; the aſcendency he had obtained by means of the army under his command, rendered him already too great for a ſubject. 1730.

SHAH TÆHMAS had no ſooner made a diſpoſition of his interior government, than he ſent an embaſſador to the port, to acquaint the grand ſignior of his re-eſtabliſhment in the government of the PERSIAN empire; and that he deſired to live in perfect amity with the TURKS; demanding, however, the reſtitution of his dominions, which they had taken during the troubles, and alſo all the PERSIAN priſoners. The embaſſador had hardly opened his commiſſion, when news arrived at CONSTANTINOPLE, that the PERSIAN army had already taken HAMADAN. The TURKISH miniſtry enraged at this proceeding, declined any further conference. The embaſſador declared, that he believed the news was not true, or that thoſe hoſtilities had been committed contrary to his maſter's intention, by ſome rebellious ſubjects: however, the TURKS reſolved immediately to declare war againſt the PERSIANS, and accordingly made great preparations to carry it on with vigor.

In the mean while, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN had by his arbitrary proceedings, and the abuſe of his authority, rendered his ſecurity abſolutely inconſiſtent with peaceable meaſures; or, indeed, with any other ſituation than that of being at the head of an army. He had, in fact, beaten ABDALLAH BASHA, and taken HAMADAN, and following the TURKS to KERMANSHAH, compleated the defeat of that army. After putting garriſons in theſe places, he marched for TAVRIS and ARDEVILLE [f], which the BASHA KOUPROLI was ordered to defend with 40,000 men; however, the KHAN having out-marched him, took theſe places. The TURKS being thus terrified at the progreſs of the PERSIANS, demanded a truce, to which TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN conſented the more readily, as the

[f] This city had been famous for the ſepulchres of the PERSIAN kings, for colleges richly endowed, and moſques with coſtly ornaments in ſilver; but the TURKS during the troubles alienated the lands, and plunder'd the riches.

1730. the ABDOLLEES of HERAT had revolted, and formed a conſiderable army. Upon this he returned back with a large body of his troops, and by a laborious march entered the country of ESFERAIN, and defeated the ABDOLLEES in a pitched battle. He then blockaded HERAT, which being unprovided for a ſiege, was obliged to ſubmit. He put the governor and all the principal perſons concerned in the rebellion to death, and leaving a garriſon of his own men, he marched to MESCHED.

TÆHMAS SHAH concluded that the truce with the port would not terminate in any accommodation: the TURKS took advantage of the abſence of KOULI KHAN, and great preparations were made for the march of the OTTOMAN armies. The SHAH therefore left ISFAHAN in OCTOBER, with an army of about 20,000 men, directing his courſe towards TAVRIS, where he joined the troops left by his general TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN. From thence he marched over the mountains of ARMENIA, in the height of

1731. winter, by which he loſt a conſiderable number of his men: and about the end of FEBRUARY he reached ERIVAN. ALI BASHA, SERASKIER of that province, had taken care to ſupply the city, not only for a ſiege, but alſo to act offenſively againſt the PERSIANS when a favourable opportunity ſhould offer: accordingly he cauſed 6000 of his men to march out of the garriſon to attack the PERSIANS, with inſtructions to retreat at the firſt fire. This order was executed ſo well, that the PERSIANS having the apppearance of a victory, followed the TURKS, and fell into the ſnare; for a maſked battery of cannon was played on them ſo furiouſly, that they loſt a great number of men. The BASHA at the ſame time marched out of his camp, and attacked the PERSIANS in flank, ſo that the battle became very bloody on both ſides; however, the PERSIAN valour was ſuperior to that of the TURKS, who were driven back to their entrenchments. The SHAH then laid ſiege to the caſtle, but the TURKS having laid the country waſte, he ſoon found his army in diſtreſs for proviſions, and was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. The PERSIAN army then directed their courſe towards TAVRIS. ALI BASHA followed them, and ſoon met and joined the forces of BASHA KOUPROLI. The union of the TURKISH troops having rendered them ſuperior to the PERSIANS, they attacked the PERSIAN army near the city ASTABAT, and defeated them, puſhing ſome of their troops into the river

ZENGUI[7]; many of them were drowned, and a great number taken pri- 1731.
ſoners. Among the latter was SEFFIE KOULI KHAN, a general of diſtinction, who had been formerly the ATHEMAT DOULET of SHAH HUSSEIN. This perſon, now about 60 years of age, was remarkable for his knowledge and bravery. When he was brought priſoner to CONSTANTINOPLE, the grand ſignior demanded of him, why at the late ſiege of TAVRIS he had ſuffered the chief MULLAH and his family to be maſſacred? He anſwered in an undaunted tone, "There are raſcals in PERSIA as well as in "TURKEY, and when a place is taken by aſſault, it is impoſſible for "commanders to prevent diſorders." Whatever might be the reaſons which induced the OTTOMAN court to behave thus cruelly to this gallant officer; he was conducted richly cloathed, with his hands tied behind him, to a place near the ſeraglio, where the grand ſignior glutted his reſentment in ſeeing his head cut off. In the mean time, the PERSIAN embaſſadors had been very ill treated, and even plundered on the road, ſo that the TURKS ſeemed to obſerve no terms with their enemies, but determined to lay waſte the borders of PERSIA with fire and ſword.

TÆHMAS SHAH had, before his defeat near ASTABAT, reſolved to abandon TAVRIS, in order to provide for the ſecurity of HAMADAN, to which ACHMED BASHA was preparing to lay ſiege. The PERSIAN army reached the plains of HAMADAN in SEPTEMBER, being reduced from 50[8] to leſs than 30,000 men. With theſe were joined the garriſon of the city; and a bloody battle enſued between the two armies, in which the TURKS were victorious. The SHAH returned with his ſcattered forces to CASBIN; and HAMADAN fell again into the hands of the TURKS. Thus the OTTOMAN army gained this year, what they loſt the year before.

During theſe tranſactions in the field, the ſituation of affairs in TURKEY was changed by inteſtine commotions. As they had moreover much to loſe, without a proſpect of making any further acquiſition, peace was become very deſirable. ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, in conſequence of the ſucceſs of the PERSIANS the preceding year, had received orders to make a peace with them on the beſt terms he could. IBRAHIM BASHA, the grand vizir,

F 2

[7] This river falls into the ARAS a little below ASTABAT.

[8] It may be preſumed that he collected a great number of forces in his march through PERSIA into the TURKISH dominions, beſides the forces he found at TAVRIS.

1731. vizir, was apprehenſive that if ſucceſs attended the arms of the PERSIANS in reconquering the provinces wreſted from that monarchy, during the invaſion of the AFGHANS, ſuch an event would neceſſarily render his ſafety the more precarious, as he was already odious to the people.

The end of SEPTEMBER the preceding year, a great revolution happened at CONSTANTINOPLE; and as this event was attended with remarkable circumſtances, it will not be foreign to our ſubject, to give a ſuccinct account of it.

CHAP. VII.

An account of the revolution in TURKEY. *The grand vizir, and ſeveral other great officers put to death.* ACHMED *the* IIId *dethroned.* MAHOMMED *advanced to the government. The extraordinary adventures of* PATRONA KALIL, *chief of the rebels.*

1730. IT often pleaſes the wiſdom of providence to accompliſh the greateſt ends by ignoble inſtruments. PATRONA KALIL, a native of ALBANIA, who had been a common ſailor, and was now only a ſimple Janiſſary, became the inſtrument of dethroning ACHMED the III. the grand ſignior, in reſentment of the evil adminiſtration of the government, and the rapacious avarice of IBRAHIM BASHA the grand vizir.

PATRONA appeared in arms the 28th of SEPTEMBER, at the head of a few deſperate fellows. It was agreed this ſmall body ſhould divide itſelf into three companies, and taking different routs they were to meet at ATMEIDAN [a], which was appointed their general rendezvous. This diſpoſition being made, PATRONA began his march, diſplaying a ſmall ſtandard; his companions, with ſabres in their hands, cried out, that all ſhopkeepers and mechanicks ſhould ſhut up their ſhops, and every good muſſulman ſhould follow their enſigns to ATMEIDAN, where they would communicate the juſt cauſe of their appearing in arms againſt the preſent government. The two other companies having done the ſame, the whole city was in an alarm, and

[a] A plain juſt without the city.

and the ſhops were ſhut up. The TURKS who did not join them, confined themſelves to their houſes. The grand ſignior, and his vizir IBRAHIM, were at their country palaces at SCUTARI; and the REYS EFFENDI [b] was alſo at one of his country houſes on the canal which extends to the BLACK SEA. This miniſter, being given up to his natural indolence, treated the account which was ſent of the tumult as a matter below his attention; ſo that there was no perſon of authority to quaſh this commotion in the city, except the AGA of the Janiſſaries, and the KIAYA [c] of the grand vizir. The laſt, apprehenſive of danger, retired; whilſt the AGA put himſelf at the head of his guards, deſigning to diſperſe the mob. He ſoon found that his very guards were corrupted; and inſtead of being diſpoſed to act offenſively againſt the promoters of the ſedition, they began to complain of his not joining with them to obtain juſtice of the grand vizir. 1730.

Things being thus circumſtanced, he was intirely at a loſs what meaſures to take, till news was brought him that a party of the rebels were gone to plunder his palace; upon which he retired to provide for his own ſecurity. The mob increaſed every moment: they obliged all the TURKS they met to join them, threatening to kill thoſe who refuſed; and ſome unhappy perſons, who had no inclination to embark in ſo deſperate an enterprize, actually fell a ſacrifice to their fury. They now broke open all the priſons, and made ſlaves and malefactors the companions of their fortune. As their number augmented, thoſe whom fear rather than inclination had hitherto reſtrained, became the partners of their rebellion. Thus the fire of ſedition had already made a great progreſs, before the grand vizir had received any exact information of it; ſo that it was not till four in the afternoon that the MUFTI [d], the KAIMAKHAN [e], and the KIAYA, with ſeveral other principal officers of ſtate, came to inform him to what a height the inſurrection was arrived. Immediately a council was held, which laſted till night without any reſolution, but that they ſhould hold another council at the palace of the grand ſignior.

Here

[b] Secretary of ſtate, grand ſignior has one.

[c] This is the great uſher of the houſhold, the vizir as well as the

[d] The firſt eccleſiaſtic, or chief of the law.

[e] The deputy of the grand vizir, who acts as governor of CONSTANTINOPLE.

1730. Here it was reſolved that the court ſhould immediately go to CONSTANTINOPLE; and they accordingly embarked in a yatch. They were no ſooner arrived, than the grand vizir, with the other miniſters, began to deliberate what meaſures to take under ſuch preſſing circumſtances, which were of ſuch a nature, as ſeemed already to baffle the utmoſt of their ſkill and authority. They reſolved however unanimouſly, that the only effectual method was the force of arms, and therefore a body of troops ſhould be collected. This indeed ſeemed to be the only expedient; but the grand ſignior being informed of their reſolution, was unwilling to try ſuch deſperate means. As ſoon as it was day, his highneſs ſent one of the principal officers of the BOSTANGIS[g] to ATMEIDAN, to command the rebels in the grand ſignior's name to retire; and to acquaint them that if they did not ſhew a ready obedience, his highneſs would be obliged to have recourſe to arms. They made reply with great unconcern, that they were aſſembled for the honour and welfare of the ſtate, and would not lay down their arms, till the ſultan redreſſed their grievances.

The grand ſignior highly incenſed at ſo inſolent an anſwer, gratified his reſentment in reproaching his vizir IBRHAIM as the cauſe of the diſorder. The vizir laid the fault on the KAIMAKHAN, loading him with the moſt heavy reproaches in the preſence of the ſultan; turning towards whom he ſaid, "Will your highneſs ſuffer that a wretch ſo vile and deſpicable as this ſhall longer enjoy the light." The ſultan ſtruck with the manner in which his vizir accuſed the KAIMAKHAN, cauſed him immediately to be arreſted: and then *aſſuming a compoſed air, diſcourſed* with the vizir upon the ſituation of their affairs. IBRAHIM who was an able, tho' not an honeſt miniſter, found the advice his maſter gave was impracticable; therefore, without amuſing him with vain projects, he recommended force as the only expedient to reduce the rebellion. "I "ſee," continued he, "in this criſis of the empire, only two expedients; "either that your highneſs put yourſelf at the head of your houſhold "troops, and fall upon the rebels, or that you permit me to go in your "place. I flatter myſelf that I am ſufficiently beloved by the ſoldiers to "form a conſiderable party, as ſoon as I ſhall appear."

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[g] Theſe are a ſpecies of militia in TURKEY, but they alſo ſerve as guards of the ſeraglio.

The timorous ſultan reliſhed neither of theſe propoſals, but ſtill vainly endeavoured to avail himſelf of the right he derived as ſovereign of the people. He therefore cauſed the ſtandard of MAHOMMED to be forthwith diſplayed at the gates of the ſeraglio, and ordered a proclamation to be made from the ramparts, that every ſoldier who would come under this banner, to aſſiſt him in reducing the rebels, ſhould receive a gratification of 30 crowns[h]; and, moreover, that their pay ſhould be augmented two aſpers. He ſoon found that theſe fair promiſes were ineffectual, and therefore gave orders that the BOSTANGIS ſhould be aſſembled; but neither were theſe orders practicable, for thoſe who were capable of bearing arms concealed themſelves, having no inclination to fight in behalf of a miniſtry, which had been long odious to them. His next application was to the marine; but before any number of men could be collected, PATRONA KALIL, at the head of a body of rebels, fell upon the arſenal, drove the captain BASHA from it, and threatened the ſoldiers of the marine, if they perſiſted in defending the court, he would grant them no quarter, but would burn their houſes, together with all the ſhips and gallies belonging to the ſultan. By this means, he diſperſed a great number who had already received money for enliſting, and brought off others to join his party; at the ſame time, he augmented his forces with all the TURKISH malefactors and ſlaves, who were in the gallies and baths. 1730.

At length the grand ſignior ſent a deputation to the rebels, demanding what their intentions were; they anſwered, that they deſired the MUFTI, the grand vizir IBRAHIM BASHA, the KAIMAKHAN, MUSTAPHA BASHA, and MAHOMMED the KIAYA, might be delivered to them: with regard to his highneſs, they were ſatisfied with his reign, and wiſhed him proſperity. Upon this anſwer, the ſultan immediately cauſed the two laſt to be arreſted, and ſent to acquaint the rebels that they ſhould be put to death; but that, in conſideration of his compliance ſo far, they ought to be contented with the baniſhment of the MUFTI and VIZIR. The rebels conſented to ſpare the MUFTI, but ſtill perſiſted in their firſt demand in regard to the VIZIR; inſomuch, that the ſultan found his own ſecurity would be endangered by his refuſal.

[h] I ſuppoſe dollars of 4 s.

1730. In the mean while PATRONA conducted himself with all the dignity and good order of a commander in chief, exacting an oath from his companions, that they should commit no kind of excess. For the better support of their discipline, some, who had committed thefts and disorders, were actually punished with death by a consent of the leaders of the rebellion: by which means the city was supplied with provisions as usual. The Janissaries, who had revolted long before in their hearts, joined the rebels at ATMEIDAN, where they formed a regular camp. This step seemed to render the affairs of the court desperate; however, the sultan made another effort to obtain the life of IBRAHIM BASHA: to which the rebels made no other reply, than that they had already done enough in pardoning the MUFTI. The grand vizir, and other great officers already mentioned, were accordingly condemned to die, and the 30th of SEPTEMBER the delinquents were conducted to KAPU OR ASI [k]. The approach of death so terrified the KIAYA, that he rendered up his soul without the hand of the executioner. The KAIMAKHAN performed the offices of devotion, and received the absolution which is usual on such important occasions, in a very composed and regular manner. The vizir did not express less fortitude and composure, but he neither said his prayers, nor received absolution; observing, that as his life was so near an end, he would not give himself that trouble.

How far the grand vizir had misbehaved, during the long administration of twelve years, may be judged from the immense riches which he left behind him. One of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber [l], who had been in his secrets, now confessed that in a vault under the pigeon-house, which this minister had caused to be built in one of the courts of the seraglio, his riches were deposited. From hence were taken four iron chests, of which three contained 18 long leather bags, with 60,000 sequins [m] funduklis in each, and the fourth contained a great quantity of precious stones. The KIAYA of IBRAHIM's harram, who had a perfect knowledge of his affairs, confessed that a great part of these riches was the price of injustice; and that

[k] The apartment in the seraglio, where prisoners of state are put to death. [l] AHAGTAR OGLAR. [m] At 9*s.* 4*d.* the sequin is 1,512,000*l.* which seems to be much too large a sum to be amassed by any minister in any country, without very great corruption indeed.

that he had himſelf been employed in the moſt ſecret manner, at different times, in conveying money into theſe cheſts. 1730.

The next day in the morning, the bodies of theſe three great officers, without any funeral rites, and almoſt naked, were conveyed in a cart to ATMEIDAN, followed by a crowd, who expreſſed great contempt and reſentment of the conduct of theſe miniſters by inſulting their remains, and declaring with loud acclamations, that they hoped all the enemies of their religion and country would meet with the ſame fate. When the bodies were brought into the camp; the rebels were loud in their expreſſions of reſentment, that the grand ſignior had not delivered the traitors alive, as he had promiſed. It was urged, on the other hand, that the ſultans had never been accuſtomed to deliver their miniſters alive into the hands of their enemies; and that they ought to be ſatisfied with the great condeſcenſion which his highneſs had ſhewn upon this occaſion.

The rebels having carried their point thus far, were intoxicated with their own ſucceſs; and began to declare without reſerve, that they would depoſe the SULTAN ACHMED III. and ſet his nephew MAHOMMED on the throne. They conſidered that ACHMED was naturally cruel, and had cauſed all thoſe to be put to death who had dethroned his brother MUSTAPHA II. in 1703; and conſequently, they could expect very little quarter from him, ſhould his power be again eſtabliſhed, as they had been the authors of the death of his near relation IBRAHIM: on the contrary, ſhould they chuſe MAHOMMED, who had been confined for ſeven and twenty years, there was great reaſon to believe he would acknowledge their ſervices. ACHMED, in reality, had given them no remarkable cauſe of complaint, except his great favour to IBRAHIM BASHA; ſo that it was in ſome meaſure difficult to find a ſpecious motive for this laſt act of violence on the ſtate. They pretended, that the body of the vizir IBRAHIM was not among thoſe of the delinquents; however, after hanging the bodies of the KAIMAKHAN and KIAYA, each upon a tree, as ſpectacles to the people, they dragged the third, which was really IBRAHIM's, at a horſe's tail to the gates of the ſeraglio.

1730. Here they demanded with the moſt clamorous inſolence, that the real vizir with all his creatures ſhould be delivered to them alive, as alſo the REYS EFFENDI; adding, that as they could not depend on the promiſes of ACHMED, who contrary to all laws, perſiſted in protecting a villain, whoſe avarice had plunged the ſtate into the greateſt diſtreſs, he was no longer worthy to reign: at the ſame time they proclaimed MAHOMMED. ACHMED tried every expedient to quiet them, offering them conſiderable rewards, and to deliver up all thoſe whom they demanded; but they were inflexibly bent on dethroning him. On their return to ATMEIDAN, they threw the carcaſs of IBRAHIM into the common road, near a fountain, where this miniſter had erected an elegant ſtructure about two years before, as an embelliſhment to the city, and for the uſe of the people.

The rebels having plunged themſelves ſo deep, began to find the neceſſity of ſome perſon, ſkilled and experienced in politics, to conduct them in the completion of their work. ISPIRI ZADE, one of the ſultan's chaplains, though he had often received the higheſt marks of the royal bounty, had the ingratitude to abandon his maſter, and join in the conſpiracy. This man had concealed his ambition under the cloak of piety and mortification, and was *now* ſecretly become their chief adviſer. The 1ſt of OCTOBER he entered the ſeraglio, where he found the miniſters of ACHMED under a great conſternation, not knowing what would be the iſſue of the rebellion. As ſoon as this treacherous prieſt entered the apartment, the miniſters inquired impatiently what was paſſing in the city. He anſwered with the air of a man depreſſed with ſorrow: "The rebels "will not upon any account ſubmit that ACHMED ſhall reign over them "any longer; all my endeavours in favour of the ſultan are rendered "abortive, by the fierceneſs of their animoſity. It is in vain to flatter "ourſelves any longer, that we ſhall be able to alter their reſolution."

At theſe words, the whole aſſembly became motionleſs, and unable to utter a word. The perfidious ISPIRI ZADE, obſerving that there was no body who dared to acquaint the ſultan with this news, went himſelf. As ſoon as he entered the royal preſence, ACHMED ſaid, "Are the rebels "yet

" yet at ATMEIDAN? why do they not retire? I have ſhewn them more 1730.
" favour than I ought: I have offered to do them juſtice on thoſe of
" whom they complain; and I have promiſed them large preſents; what
" would they have more?" ISPIRI ZADE replied, in a bold but compoſed tone, " Thy reign is finiſhed; thy revolted ſubjects will no longer
" ſubmit to thy dominion." ACHMED, ſtarting up, replied, " Whence
" comes it that you have delayed to give me this information?" Then running immediately to the apartment [n] of MAHOMMED his nephew, he took him by the hand, and conducting him to the throne, placed him there himſelf, and was the firſt who ſaluted him as emperor. Among many tender things, he ſpoke to this effect: " Remember that your fa-
" ther loſt the place in which you are now ſeated, by his blind com-
" plaiſance for his mufti FEIZOULLAH EFFENDI; and that I loſe it my-
" ſelf, by having truſted too much to my vizir IBRAHIM BASHA. Learn
" from our examples not to confide in your miniſters without due cir-
" cumſpection. If I had always followed my old maxims, I ſhould
" never have left mine ſo long in place, or omitted to have demanded
" frequent and regular accounts of the affairs of the empire. Perhaps I
" might have then finiſhed my reign as gloriouſly as I began it. Farewel;
" I wiſh that yours may be more happy; and I hope that you will have
" a proper regard for me and my children, whom I recommend to your
" care." Immediately the unfortunate ACHMED retired to thoſe apartments which his nephew had juſt quitted.

After the ceremony of the inauguration of the new ſultan was performed with the uſual pomp, and he had received the honours due to this high dignity; his curioſity excited him to ſee PATRONA KALIL, who had been the inſtrument of his exaltation to the throne. This man appeared before the grand ſignior in the habit of a common Janiſſary, with his naked knees. He advanced with a bold air to the ſultan's throne, and kiſſed his hand. His highneſs ſaid, " What can I do for thee?
" Thou haſt a right to demand of me any favour." This artful wicked fellow, now gave marks of more noble and generous ſentiments, than could be expected from his birth and paſt life, and anſwered the ſultan

[n] CASODA.

1730. to this purpoſe: "As to the preſent time, I am arrived at the higheſt point "of my wiſhes, in ſeeing your highneſs on the throne of the OTTOMAN "empire. With regard to the future, I know I have nothing to expect "from you but an ignominious death." The grand ſignior replied, "I "ſwear I will never do you any harm; tell me only what recompence I "can make you, and I grant it before you aſk." "Since your royal "goodneſs is without bounds," replied PATRONA, "I deſire that you "will ſuppreſs all the new impoſts with which your ſubjects have been "loaded under the late adminiſtration."

This was a dangerous requeſt, as it ſeemed to increaſe the popularity of this fellow; however the grand ſignior did not heſitate to comply, and orders were immediately given to ſuſpend the collection of thoſe taxes. In the interim the rebels, far from diſbanding, committed many outrages, particularly in pillaging ſeveral houſes of perſons proſcribed, which had been ſealed up with the royal ſeal. The new ſultan could not but have a quick reſentment of ſo great a mark of diſreſpect, as well as violation of the laws; however, as he was not yet ſecure on his throne, he deſired that they would refrain from ſuch kind of executions; repreſenting at the ſame time, that as they had placed him on the throne, they ought to leave the power and authority of puniſhing to him, in the manner which he ſhould think moſt convenient. Theſe gentle remonſtrances, though founded in the higheſt reaſon, did not prevail on the baſe and undiſciplined minds of the rebels; on the contrary, they renewed their inſtances that the REYS EFFENDI *ſhould be delivered up to them.* Tho' this miniſter had not been ſo guilty as the other officers of ſtate, yet he thought proper to retire and conceal himſelf. But had he been preſent, the new ſultan ſeemed in no diſpoſition to comply with their extravagance, the gratification of which might have only ſerved to increaſe their tumultuous fury.

The rebels proceeded in rifling the houſes of thoſe who were moſt obnoxious to them: the plunder of the grandees, together with the riches of the vizir, enabled PATRONA to make a plentiful diſtribution of money to gratify all his followers, among whom even children and

old men were admitted, as by this means he increaſed his popularity. 1730.
The lieutenant-general of the Janiſſaries, tho' choſen by the rebels, was confirmed by the ſultan; he therefore took the liberty to repreſent, that ſo profuſe a liberality to perſons ſo little intitled to it, ill ſuited with juſt government, in the cauſe of which they had taken up arms: but this unhappy officer, for his indiſcreet zeal, was cut to pieces on the ſpot.

The grand ſignior, obſerving that it would be impoſſible to eſtabliſh peace whilſt PATRONA appeared in arms, propoſed to give him a rich government, or a ſum of money to retire. PATRONA knew well that *he could have no ſecurity but in arms*; however he continued to chaſtiſe thoſe who committed any outrage without his permiſſion. All the new officers of ſtate, out of fear of his lawleſs power, paid him the greateſt reſpect.

PATRONA at length reflecting, that the character of a diſintereſted patriot, in which he had hitherto appeared, would not ſupport him, when the lives of the inhabitants of CONSTANTINOPLE, together with their wealth ſhould ceaſe to be in his power; began to accept bribes, and to ſell *his favours for money*. His companions being informed of it, expreſſed their reſentment with ſome bitterneſs, as he thus violated thoſe principles, in defence of which they had taken up arms. The matter was but too apparent, and tended much to weaken his intereſt; however, he ſtill pretended that all his paſſions and deſires centered in the public good.

Their plundering and proſcriptions ſtill continuing, the ſultan convoked a council, compoſed of his new muſti and principal officers of ſtate. In conſequence of this, the muſti prepared his religious artillery, by ſending his FETFA to the rebel camp at ATMEIDAN, by the ISTAMBOUL EFFENDI *. This was a humorous whimſical fellow, who having from the beginning taken the part of the rebels, was in great eſteem amongſt them, and played his part ſo well, that the moſt ſenſible among the Janiſſaries conſented to retire to their quarters, and to ſubmit to the ſultan's pleaſure. At the ſame time the rebels were threatened, that if they did not retire, the

* Lieutenant of the police in CONSTANTINOPLE.

1730. the ſtandard of MAHOMMED would not be hung out in vain, ſeeing that there were thouſands in CONSTANTINOPLE ready to ſhed their blood in defence of it. Upon this they ſubmitted, on condition that none of them ſhould be put to death, and that they ſhould have three ſtandards diſplayed, by which means they might unite in their own defence in caſe of need. Extraordinary as this propoſal may appear, the court thought proper to ſubmit to it, for the preſent, for fear of worſe conſequences.

The blaze of this rebellious fire ſeemed thus to be extinguiſhed. The court thought it unſafe to proceed to the execution of any of the chiefs, though it could hardly be expected that the Janiſſaries, after ſo licentious a life for fourteen days, would ſubmit to the proper diſcipline of that body, in whoſe chambers it is not permitted to drink wine, nor commit any ſort of debauch. During their ſeditious practices, PATRONA KALIL had poſſeſſed himſelf of money ſufficient to maintain him in a genteel manner; but his greateſt diſtinction in his own eſteem, was derived from being the chief author of the revolution.

He now took a houſe contiguous to the chambers of the Janiſſaries, and 400 of his followers well armed continued about his perſon. They ſpent their time in debauches, and ſeveral murders were committed in broad day. Grown hardy in their imaginary ſecurity, they made no ſcruple to viſit the new grand vizir, as if they conſidered him as their creature. They demanded the baniſhment of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction; that others ſhould have their employments taken from them; and they named, at the ſame time, thoſe whom they would have preferred. Among the latter, PATRONA carried his inſolence ſo far, as to demand that a certain GREEK butcher called YANAKI, to whom he had been much obliged for truſting him with a great quantity of proviſions, ſhould be made prince of MOLDAVIA. The ceremonies of the inveſtiture of this butcher prince were actually performed; but as he was not able to raiſe the funds neceſſary on this occaſion, and his friend PATRONA, conſcious of the wild abſurdity

abſurdity of his conduct, had deſerted him; the imaginary principality of this vain GREEK was changed into a priſon. 1730.

This, and other ſuch extravagancies, began to make the Janiſſaries aſhamed of eſpouſing the cauſe of ſo deſpicable a wretch. PATRONA's pride was then a little humbled; he therefore went to pay his court to the KADILESKIER [p], a man of ſingular probity. He received him with great coldneſs; however, PATRONA with an air of dignity, addreſſed him as follows: "You know, great EFFENDI [q], that GOD has been pleaſed to "make uſe of this feeble arm, to deliver his people from the oppreſſion "of the late miniſtry. You, who are wiſe, and can ſee into the hearts "of men, know that my deſigns are good; however, I find that ſome "ill-intentioned perſons miſinterpret my actions, and endeavour to repre-"ſent them as criminal to our maſter the ſultan; for whom I have ſo "often expoſed my life. If theſe calumnies continue, I beg you will be "my advocate with his highneſs." The KADILESKIER anſwered, "That "he held falſhood in the higheſt contempt, and ſhould never be aſhamed "to tell the truth, and that he might be aſſured if his opinion was aſked, "he ſhould declare what he thought." PATRONA was willing to inter-pret this ambiguous anſwer in his own favour, and kiſſing the hand of the KADILESKIER, he retired, and gave a handful of ſequins to his do-meſtics; which the KADILESKIER ordered to be thrown into the ſea be-fore PATRONA's face, as a mark of his contempt and indignation.

PATRONA was yet at the head of a party ſufficient to ſkreen him from the reſentment of the court, which now meditated a fair occaſion to cut him off. The 6th of NOVEMBER, as deputy of the Janiſſaries, he con-voked a grand council, at which the KHAN of the CRIM TARTARS, the grand vizir, the muſti, and other great officers of ſtate were preſent. He opened the aſſembly himſelf, and addreſſing himſelf to the KHAN, ſpoke to this effect: "The preſent ſituation of the empire has occaſioned the "convocation of this council; I know that our affairs in PERSIA are every "day falling to decay. The RUSSIANS are continually ſending ſuccours "to the PERSIANS; therefore my opinion is, that we ought to declare "war,

[p] Chief juſtice. [q] The name common to [illegible]ed in the law.

1730. " war, to prevent greater evils, and to revenge ourſelves on them for the " blood of muſſulmen, which they have been the cauſe of ſpilling. Let " us immediately ſend a great army againſt them, whilſt the TARTARS " invade the country of theſe infidels on the other ſide, and bring the " inhabitants into ſlavery. I think alſo that there is an abſolute neceſſity " to curb the baſhas on the frontiers, in their evil practices; ſo far from " taking care of the troops, and regarding the Janiſſaries as the ſure ſup- " port of this monarchy, they treat them ill, and retain their pay for " their private uſe, and to gratify their own creatures."

He made ſeveral other remarks in as wild and indigeſted a manner, whilſt the whole aſſembly, with hearts full of indignation, deplored the wretched ſituation of the ſtate, that obliged the great council of the OTTOMAN empire to hear this deſpicable wretch preſume to give laws. At length the KHAN *of the* TARTARS, tired of hearing his impertinent diſcourſe, ſaid, " You, who ſpeak ſo much of war, do you know what it is? " What reaſons are there that his highneſs ſhould declare war againſt the " RUSSIANS? Do you not know that the court is at peace with them; " and that without juſt cauſe we ought not to break that peace? Before " we proceed to ſuch extremities, we ought to know the truth of the " extraordinary reports which you make. After this, upon mature de- " liberation, we might reſolve whether peace or war is moſt for the ho- " nour and advantage of the empire. Theſe are not ſuch light matters " as you ſeem to imagine: tell me by what rout you would penetrate " into RUSSIA?" " By what rout," replied PATRONA, " that is a plea- " ſant queſtion indeed; why can't we go the ſame way as we did before, " you on one ſide, and we on the other?" The TARTAR prince, with an air that plainly ſhewed he thought it below his dignity to make any anſwer, otherwiſe than as the circumſtances of the ſtate rendered it neceſſary to temporize, ſpoke to this effect: " Formerly we paſſed through " POLAND, becauſe we were then at war with the POLANDERS, but " at preſent we are at peace with them. Is it juſt to ſpread deſola- " tion among people, againſt whom we have no cauſe of complaint? " Do you know that an army of an hundred thouſand TARTARS, can-

" not

" not march into a country without ruining it? It is true that war is the 1730.
" proper occupation, and the real source of the riches of my subjects:
" shut up in the plains of the CRIM, as we have no trade, we decline
" into poverty; but we had rather sacrifice our particular interest, than
" justice, equity, and the laws of nations. We know that wars are the
" chastisements of heaven; and we ought to reflect maturely before
" we take up arms, that we may not repent when we are obliged to
" lay them down again. These are not affairs to be resolved on in
" a hurry." PATRONA replied, " I see no harm in carrying desola-
" tion into the country of infidels; and as to our deliberations, I did
" not expect this council should have been composed of more than you,
" MOUSLOUK AGA [r], the grand vizir, a few other persons, and my-
" self; and for the future, if you please, it shall be so, that we may
" conduct our business with more secrecy; otherwise the infidels, being
" informed of our resolutions, will disconcert our measures." " When
" the business of a council," replied the KHAN, " is to consult of war
" or peace, it is a maxim established among us, to have numerous as-
" semblies, that we may know the different sentiments of men upon so
" weighty a concern. You see that IBRAHIM BASHA, ambitious of go-
" verning alone, not only perished himself by an ignominious death, but
" was near drawing on the ruin of the empire. It is astonishing, that so
" recent and terrible an example does not instruct you to avoid the danger
" of directing solely; but I declare, if that continues, I will supplicate
" his highness to send me into the remotest banishment, rather than be a
" witness to the violation of his honour, and the ruin of the state."

So bold a declaration as this, could not but silence the formidable PATRONA. The council broke up, and nothing was determined. Many entertained

[r] This was another Janissary of the same stamp as PATRONA himself, who had forfeited his life on several occasions. This fellow, during the transactions of the late revolution, went with an imperious air into some of the tribunals in CONSTANTINOPLE, and without reserve dispatched his emissaries who attended him, with orders to kill such and such persons; letting those who were present know at the same time who he was, and that he had the gift of discovering the hearts of men; that he loved honest men and hated rascals; bidding them look to themselves. Such was the power of the Janissaries at that time, and the terror which they spread throug[h]

1730. entertained the moſt ardent wiſhes to ſee the deſtruction of the rebels; who, on their part, concerted meaſures to put their own creatures in poſſeſſion of the principal offices of the government, as the only means of ſecuring themſelves.

Two days afterwards, the grand ſignior invited PATRONA, MOUSLOUK, and the AGA of the Janiſſaries, to court, deſiring to be informed of the effect of their conference, and to conſult with them what meaſures to purſue in regard to the affairs of PERSIA, as well as the interior government of the empire. At 11 o'clock they attended, with a retinue of ſix and twenty perſons, whom they left in the firſt court, and were themſelves conducted to the chamber, where the OTTOMAN princes are circumciſed [r]. Here they found the KHAN of the TARTARS, the mufti, the grand vizir, with other great officers of the crown, ſeated according to their rank: there were alſo many officers of the BOSTANGIS, and other perſons, ſtanding. The rebels took their ſeats, without ſeeming to ſuſpect any danger, as the BOSTANGIS are conſidered as domeſtics of the ſeraglio.

The grand vizir opened the aſſembly, and addreſſing himſelf to PATRONA, ſaid, "The grand ſignior has made you BEGLERBEG of ROMANIA [s], and gives you the command of 30,000 men, with which "you are to join ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, and to act in concert "with him againſt the PERSIANS." He next ſpoke to MOUSLOUK AGA in theſe terms: "His highneſs has appointed you BEGLERBEG of NATOLIA, with a body of troops under your command." And then turning to the AGA of the Janiſſaries, he acquainted him, "That he was "appointed BASHA of three tails." Thus he was going on, when MUSTAPHA AGA [t] cried out aloud; "Let all the enemies of the ſtate be extirpated;" and immediately thirty of the officers of the BOSTANGIS fell

[r] They call this the SUNNET ODASSI. [s] The antient THRACE. This is one of the richeſt governments in the neighbourhood of CONSTANTINOPLE; it is a fruitful country, bounded on the ſouth by the ARCHIPELAGO, near 300 miles long, and more than half as broad, covered with high mountains, which are natural bulwarks againſt an enemy. [t] This perſon had in his youthful age been a creature of th[illegible] the TARTARS, and was captain of the 17th company of the Janiſſaries when the fed[illegible] out; but being devoted to his old maſter, now took the ſide of the court, and behaved with th[illegible] approved fidelity.

fell with their ſabres upon PATRONA KALIL, MOUSLOUK, and the AGA 1730.
of the Janiſſaries. The firſt was drawing his dagger from under his furr to defend himſelf, when MUSTAPHA AGA cut his arm with a ſtroke of his ſabre: MOUSLOUK threw his robe over his face, and reſigned himſelf to his deſtiny like a CÆSAR.

It may appear extraordinary, that theſe traitors left their guard in the outward court; however, the difficulty is reconciled, when we conſider that the buſineſs they were to treat of, was of an important nature, and that they had, in the fond preſumption of their imaginations, flattered themſelves into a belief that the grand ſignior had adopted their ſentiments; not only with regard to the affairs of the empire, but alſo in reſpect to the ſecret manner in which they propoſed to hold their councils, agreeably to what PATRONA had recommended in the laſt aſſembly.

As ſoon as theſe rebel chiefs were put to death, their bodies were thrown into the court before the apartment where the cataſtrophe happened. A meſſenger was immediately ſent to acquaint their guard, that as the grand ſignior had been pleaſed to preſent their chiefs with a coat of honour, his highneſs intended alſo to give them each a CAFTAN*; and for this purpoſe they were to enter three or four at a time, that the ceremony might be performed with decency. Theſe deluded wretches were no ſooner arrived in the interior part of the ſecond court, than they underwent the ſame fate as their maſters: ſome of them in the outer court at length began to ſuſpect, as none of their companions returned, that they were enſnared, and attempted to ſave themſelves: but the gates were ſhut upon them, and they were ſlaughtered in the ſame manner as the others.

The report now prevailed in the city, that PATRONA, MOUSLOUK, and the AGA of the Janiſſaries, had been a long time in the ſeraglio, all the gates of which were ſhut. This brought ſeveral of the party thither, who began to murmur, and threaten violence; but as ſoon as they ſaw the gates opened, and ſeveral carts brought forth loaded with the bodies of their chiefs reeking with blood; they were ſeized with diſmay and fled. All theſe mangled carcaſſes were expoſed in the ſtreet for two

* This is the term for thoſe veſtments which are [illegible] marks of favour.

1730. hours; after which, the court, apprehenſive that ſo hideous a ſpectacle might conjure up ſome new frenzy among the people, cauſed them to be thrown into the ſea.

A numerous body of guards were now ordered to patrole the ſtreets, to keep good order, and prevent any deſperate attempt to fire the city; for PATRONA had often declared, that this would be the conſequence of taking away his life. At the ſame time, ſeveral of the rebels were ſeized and put to death; and the butcher YANIKA ſurvived his patron but one day. Public thanks were then ordered to be given to the Almighty, for his ſingular mercy in delivering the ſtate from ſuch imminent danger. A general pardon was publiſhed to all the rebels, except certain perſons who were deemed the chief conductors of the confederacy; but their puniſhment alſo was changed into baniſhment. Beſide theſe acts of clemency, large donatives were preſented to the Janiſſaries, Spahis*, and other orders of the ſoldiery who had been concerned in the revolt. Such marks of a generous diſpoſition in their ſovereign, converted their reſentment into wiſhes for his proſperity and happineſs; ſo that by the end of NOVEMBER, the city was, to all appearance, reſtored to its former tranquillity.

1731. The flames of ſedition were not however extinguiſhed. The blood of PATRONA KALIL, MOUSLOUK, and their other companions, like that of the HYDRA, nouriſhed new monſters, which in leſs than four months grew to a formidable ſize. The great diſſipation of treaſure which this revolution had cauſed, together with the want of conduct in the new miniſters, not only occaſioned the Janiſſaries to be in arrears for their pay, but alſo created a ſcarcity of proviſions in CONSTANTINOPLE. Towards the end of FEBRUARY this year, people began to murmur aloud, and predict another revolution.

The number of looſe and abandoned fellows, whom the late rebellion had brought together, was great. Theſe from their natural diſpoſition, and from their idle manner of living, were ripe for any deſperate enterprize. The partizans of ACHMED, the dethroned ſultan, ſubmitted with reluctancy

* These are [illegible] of the ASIATIC dominions of TURKEY.

reluctancy to the deſtiny of their late maſter; ſo that the ſpirit of rebel- 1732.
lion was ſecretly fomented. The court ſeemed, however, to have no ſuſpicion of it, when news was brought the 25th of MARCH, that a body of people had aſſembled at ATMEIDAN, the ordinary rendezvous of male-contents, who, after pillaging ſeveral ſhops, had collected a number of arms. Theſe being joined by a party of the Janiſſaries, broke open and plundered the houſe of the AGA of the Janiſſaries, who with difficulty eſcaped with his life.

The AGA immediately acquainted the grand ſignior; and his highneſs ordered the grand vizir, the mufti, and other great officers to be aſſembled. The experience of SEPTEMBER laſt had taught them, that ſuch lawleſs force can hardly be ſuppreſſed but by military juſtice: accordingly they inſtantly collected what forces were at hand, during the night; and leſt neceſſity ſhould oblige them to call for aſſiſtance, they carried out the ſtandard of MAHOMMED. The TURKS imagine that thoſe who die in defence of this ſtandard, are entitled to the crown of martyrdom. As ſoon as day broke, the AGA of the Janiſſaries at the head of one party, and the grand vizir with another, fell on the rebels at ATMEIDAN. A ſmart ſkirmiſh enſued: the ſtandard-bearer was diſmounted, and in danger of loſing his ſtandard, which might have had fatal conſequences.

The rebels being at length put to flight, retired to the chambers of the Janiſſaries, who, though they had not taken arms in any conſiderable numbers, were ripe for rebellion. The grand vizir therefore prudently declined following the rebels, leſt the violation of that azylum, which the quarters of theſe ſoldiers are eſteemed, ſhould furniſh a reaſon for a revolt, and plunge the city into the ſame diſorder, as it had been expoſed to four months before. They contented themſelves with killing about 200 in the flight, and taking 60 priſoners. As ſoon as theſe laſt had made confeſſion of their accomplices, they were ſtrangled, and their bodies thrown into the ſea.

The coffee-houſes and taverns were immediately ordered to be ſhut; and the GREEKS who ſell wine had their veſſels ſtaved, that no ſuel might be

1731. be afforded to heat the brains of a deſperate mob. A conſtant patrole was kept in the ſtreets, and the leaſt ſuſpicion rendered the party criminal, ſo that numbers of innocent perſons ſuffered death. This ſevere method of curing ſo dangerous a diſorder in the body politic had its effect, and prevented the flames of rebellion from ſpreading.

There were ſeveral parties of the rebels diſperſed in different quarters of the city. Some thouſands were determined to have joined the camp at ATMEIDAN: had the grand vizir therefore been in any degree leſs active, it is probable another revolution would have ſucceeded, with circumſtances more bloody and fatal than the former. It was imagined that FATIMA, daughter of ACHMED the III, and widow of the late grand vizir IBRAHIM BASHA, who was ſtrangled, had corrupted the Janiſſaries, in hopes of revenging the death of her huſband. Whether this lady was guilty or not, is a queſtion which has remained unreſolved. In order to quaſh this ſpirit of ſedition as much as poſſible, a conſiderable number of BOSNIANS, ALBANIANS, and LATS[y], were baniſhed out of the city. The grand vizir alſo omitted no means of humbling the rebels. All thoſe who were ſtrangled or beheaded, were thrown into the ſea; and floating about with the waves as ſpectacles of terror, became a prey to birds, and fiſh, inſomuch that people of any delicacy, would not eat fiſh for ſome time.

It was reckoned, that in theſe different rebellions more than 10,000 men periſhed by the ſword or the bow-ſtring. Above 30,000 were driven out of CONSTANTINOPLE; and the Janiſſaries were quartered in different parts to prevent their cabals. Thoſe of a ſeditious ſpirit were obliged to leave the city; ſo that the public tranquillity was at length in a great meaſure reſtored. The TURKS however ſuffered very great inconveniencies from theſe diſorders, not only by unhinging their government, and giving occaſion to a continual change of miniſters; but alſo by the diſſipation of their treaſure, which rendered them leſs capable of ſupporting a war againſt the PERSIANS.

CHAP.

[y] Theſe are a people who inhabit the coaſt of the BLACK SEA, who are robbers and murderers by profeſſion.

CHAP. VIII.

ACHMED, BASHA *of* BAGDAT, *negotiates a peace with the* PERSIANS *in* JANUARY 1732. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN *augments his army in* KHORASAN. *He disapproves of the peace with the* TURKS, *and enters into intrigues with his officers. He makes his ſon governor of* KHORASAN; *arrives at* ISFAHAN *in* AUGUST 1732, *and endeavours to vindicate his conduct to the* SHAH.

DURING theſe inteſtine commotions in CONSTANTINOPLE, ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, received full orders to treat with the PERSIANS for a peace, from an apprehenſion that a defeat of any of their armies in ASIA would unavoidably bring on further revolutions. The loſs which TÆHMAS SHAH lately ſuſtained, in a great meaſure facilitated this undertaking. This prince had alſo many private reaſons, with regard to his interior government, which rendered peace as deſirable to him as it was to the TURKS. ACHMED BASHA was too able a miniſter, to be ignorant of any material circumſtance relating to PERSIA, the intereſt and power of which he perfectly underſtood; and particularly, that the return of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN might render the ſucceſs of another campaign very different from the laſt. The grand ſignior had truſted him without reſerve, to make the beſt terms he could. He therefore ſent to the PERSIAN king to acquaint him, that notwithſtanding the great ſucceſs of the OTTOMAN arms, his maſter the grand ſignior was ready to eſtabliſh a firm and laſting friendſhip with him. 1731.

The SHAH, who was at CASBIN, received the news with the more ſatisfaction, as he was under ſome apprehenſions, that if the TURKS had reſolved to march to ISFAHAN, that city muſt have fallen a prey to them; for there was no army between HAMADAN and his metropolis, which could make head againſt them. The alarm in that city was ſo great, that when a detachment of the PERSIAN troops arrived there to maintain tranquillity and order, numbers of the inhabitants were preparing for flight.

ACHMED

1731. ACHMED BASHA being apprehenſive that his court might riſe in her demands, in conſequence of the late victory, was deſirous to bring on an accommodation with the PERSIANS as ſoon as poſſible. Experience, and the light of his own genius had inſtructed him, that a war with PERSIA could hardly be attended with any good conſequences to his country; and that it muſt certainly hurt his own particular intereſt; BAGDAT, the capital of his province, having long been an object on which the PERSIAN kings had caſt their eyes with earneſt wiſhes.

1732. Towards the cloſe of the laſt year, the plenipotentiaries on the part of the PERSIANS arrived at the TURKISH camp near HAMADAN. The conferences being opened the 16th of JANUARY following, the preliminary articles were ſigned. The river ARAS was appointed as the boundary of the PERSIAN dominions; ſo that the SHAH yielded his right to ARMENIA, ERIVAN, and GEORGIA. The TURKS thus remained poſſeſſed of a country near two hundred leagues in extent, which formerly belonged to PERSIA. It was however ſtipulated, that their joint forces ſhould be united in caſe of need, to compel the RUSSIANS to evacuate GHILAN, SHIRVAN, and DERBEND, with the reſt of the weſtern coaſt of the CASPIAN ſea.

During theſe tranſactions, TAHMAS KOULI KHAN, being poſſeſſed of the royal authority to raiſe money, eſtabliſhed already a kind of independency; for the ſupport of which he engaged in his ſervice a conſiderable number of ABDOLLEES, AFGHANS, OUSBEGS, and TURKUMANS. If we may judge from conſequences, and the general tenor of his conduct, he foreſaw from the beginning, that the only method by which he could awe the PERSIANS, and arrive at the object in view, would be to form a large army, compoſed chiefly of TARTARS. For theſe not having any prejudices concerning the hereditary right of princes, were moſt likely to be at his devotion, ſo long as he paid them well, which the power he was inveſted with, enabled him to do. He employed his time in KHORASAN in putting MESCHED in a ſituation of defence, and took other meaſures to prevent the incurſions of the TARTARS.

As ſoon as he heard that the SHAH had loſt two battles againſt the TURKS, and was entering into pacific meaſures with them, he wrote immediately

mediately to his majeſty in the ſtrongeſt terms, deſiring that he would 1732.
perſiſt in demanding the reſtitution of all the conquered provinces; adding, that he ſhould join him ſoon with an army of victorious troops, before whom the TURKS would fly, as the AFGHANS had lately done; that in the mean while, he need only keep on the defenſive.

The SHAH, who in a great meaſure inherited the peaceable diſpoſition of his father, found more joy in repoſe than in conqueſt. It is probable, however, that he was actuated by motives of policy; for having now no enemy to contend with, his numerous ſtanding army would become unneceſſary; and he might have a fair opportunity of reducing the enormous power of his general, by either totally diſbanding his forces, or reducing them to a ſmall number. To this might be added, that PERSIA having groaned ſeveral years under the ſervitude of the AFGHANS, the people were very much impoveriſhed, and required ſome reſpite to cultivate the earth, and rebuild their ruined houſes.

After the concluſion of the peace, TÆHMAS marched with his forces from CASBIN to ISFAHAN; where he ratified the treaty, diſbanded ſome of his troops, and ſent others into their reſpective quarters. He then wrote to his general TÆMAS KOULI KHAN, acquainting him, that he had thought proper to put an end to a war ſo chargeable to his people; and as he had no enemies foreign or domeſtic, that diſturbed the repoſe of the ſtate, he ordered him to diſband the army under his command, and to repair to ISFAHAN, to conſult with him concerning the domeſtic œconomy of the government, and the welfare of his people.

Theſe pacific meaſures were by no means conſiſtent with the ambitious projects of the PERSIAN general. He, who in a lower rank of life had been accuſtomed to follow the dictates of his own paſſions, unreſtrained by any law human or divine, could hardly be expected to ſhew a paſſive conduct at the head of a victorious army, intirely devoted to his ſervice. He had already acquainted his chief officers of the king's ill fortune againſt the TURKS, and the peace which had been made in conſequence of it: he repreſented this conduct as inglorious, impolitic and puſillanimous; and as that which would draw on the misfortunes of the preceding reign, and

1732. plunge the empire into the ſame diſtreſs as it had been in under the AFGHANS. He further made them ſenſible, how much ſuperior their valour and knowledge in the art of war was to that of the TURKS; but that pacific meaſures, after thus rouſing themſelves to a martial ſpirit, were the ſure way to enervate their minds, and diſqualify them for the duties of a ſoldier; and conſequently prepare them to become ſlaves again: that the TURKS, in the mean while, being ſuffered to poſſeſs ſo fine and extenſive a tract of country, would increaſe in power, and PERSIA would be expoſed to the greater ruin hereafter: moreover, that ſuch meaſures muſt certainly have a more direct aim at himſelf and them, whoſe military virtues rendered them objects of jealouſy at court; and the experience of HUSSEIN's reign had proved it to be dangerous for PERSIANS to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſervice of their country.

Diſcourſes like theſe carried with them the appearance of honour and integrity; and many who meant well to the royal family, had their loyalty ſhaken under the ſpecious pretence of the public good. But not to throw all the odium on the king, NADIR artfully inſinuated to theſe, that the miniſters, whom their ſovereign had employed to negotiate this peace, had been falſe to their truſt; or PERSIA, ſupported by their victorious arms, would certainly have obtained terms leſs diſhonourable. As to the common ſoldiers, what offended them moſt, was the conſideration that no particular gratuity was promiſed them on their diſmiſſion, after their great and ſignal ſervices.

Under theſe circumſtances, a man of leſs art and reſolution than NADIR, might have tainted their minds with rebellious ſentiments; however, it was neceſſary to conduct his deſigns to an iſſue with great circumſpection, ſince there could not be wanting numbers in his army, who were much more inclined to diſplace their general than their king. Things were not yet arrived to maturity; nor could any certain judgment be formed of the ſtate of affairs at ſo great a diſtance. The court was diffident of the general, and the general jealous of the court, ſo that neither knew exactly what the other intended.

NADIR was not at a loſs to find pretences for delaying his return to court, and ſome time was neceſſary to plan his ſcheme for the increaſe of his power. It is hard to ſay, if the ſtrong impulſe of ſelf-preſervation had not almoſt as great a ſhare as ambition. The eaſy credulous nature of TÆHMAS might have forgiven all that was paſt, with regard to the inſolence of his general, in demanding ſo extraordinary a power as that of raiſing money, and his imperious conduct in the uſe of it. But ſeveral of the great men about the king's perſon, ſome from a knowledge of NADIR's boundleſs ambition, and others from private reſentment, were ſo deſirous of ſeeing him humbled, that they could not keep their own council. They diſcovered their opinion and deſigns to thoſe, who were ſecretly in the intereſt of the general. Of all theſe intrigues and private commotions, the general was made acquainted; alſo of the conduct of ſome, who ſpoke diſreſpectfully of the king himſelf. He was therefore the better qualified how to act his part, when he ſhould return to court. 1732.

He had employed the end of the laſt year, and the beginning of this, chiefly in levying men, and diſciplining his army; which now amounted to near 70,000 men, the greateſt part of them TARTARS. The particular regard he had for the province of KHORASAN, engaged his attention in every inſtance that could promote the welfare and ſecurity of it; and as a natural effect of his power, as well as to ſtrengthen his intereſt in that country, he gave the government of the province to his ſon RIZA KOULI. And tho' this ſtep was preſumed to be with the king's approbation, yet as this province had generally been given to one of the royal blood, his conduct in this inſtance ſeemed to demonſtrate a deſpotic authority.

Having made this diſpoſition, he ſet out about the month of JUNE, making ſlow marches towards ISFAHAN, where he arrived in AUGUST. The people, as well as the king and his court, ſeemed to dread his approach. All perſons of diſcernment ſaw that he could mount no higher, without ſeizing the diadem. The king himſelf hardly dared to name any perſons to fill up the firſt employments of the empire, without the conſent of his general. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN took occaſion to repreſent

1732. repreſent the neceſſity of ſupporting a great army; and that the national revenues ought to be appropriated to that purpoſe, prior to any of thoſe large ſalaries, which he pretended were unneceſſarily annexed to the great offices of the crown. Indeed he was the ſpirit that animated the whole army; he entered ſo intirely into the buſineſs of it, that hardly the meaneſt common ſoldier committed any offence, deſerted, or died, but he was immediately acquainted; and the great ſtrength of his memory enabled him to act in every circumſtance of the military œconomy.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN was now to ſhew a maſter-piece of policy. Directed by thoſe principles which had been inſtrumental to his advancement to his preſent height of power, he was if poſſible to make the SHAH ſubſcribe to his own ruin. As ſoon as he arrived near ISFAHAN, and encamped his army, he waited on the king to inform him in what manner he had been employed, and how much he had his majeſty's intereſt at heart. He repreſented at the ſame time, that his majeſty had been very ill adviſed with regard to the peace he had lately concluded with the TURKS, ſince he was morally certain, that the army under his command, if they might be permitted, would ſoon drive the TURKS to their antient confines, and perhaps make the grand ſignior tremble in his capital; ſo that thoſe miniſters, who had adviſed his majeſty to this ſtep, were certainly no friends to their country, and could not have the glory of their ſovereign at heart; adding, he had too much reaſon to believe, that ſuch men were his own enemies alſo; and that he was informed ſome of them had gone ſo far, as to adviſe his majeſty to imbrue his hands in the blood of that man, whom he had been pleaſed ſo highly to honour; whoſe ſervices he had ſo often acknowledged; and whoſe only happineſs it was to devote his life to his ſervice.

The SHAH, who had for ſome time diſſembled his reſentment, was now inclined to believe that his general had been miſrepreſented to him. The KHAN, who watched every motion of his heart, found it a proper ſeaſon to regain his maſter's good opinion. The SHAH denied that any perſon had recommended to him to deprive his general of his life. KOULI KHAN, in very tender [illegible]nate terms then repreſented to him, how much his

his majesty was a prey to evil counsellors; and as the treacherous courtiers 1732.
of his father, by their intrigues would have cut off LUTF ALI KHAN, at the very time that the army under his command might have saved the empire; so they were now playing off the same diabolical engines to ruin his majesty. He then produced the letters already mentioned, which he had received from several persons at court, whilst he was in KHORASAN; and begged his majesty would be pleased to read them, and judge from thence of the fidelity of his ministers. After this, assuring the king of his own readiness to devote his life to his service, he retired.

TÆHMAS SHAH having read the letters, of which it is probable some were real, was astonished to see the perfidy of several of those in whom he had placed a confidence. But as this treasonable correspondence seemed rather to argue a contempt of his person, than a design against his life or crown; the gentleness of his mind naturally disposed him to forgiveness, at least to dissemble his resentment for the present.

CHAP. IX.

KOULI KHAN *seizes* SHAH TÆHMAS. *The infant* ABAS *elected king. Intrigues of* KOULI KHAN. TÆHMAS SHAH *removed to* SEBSAWAR. *The two sons of* KOULI KHAN *nominated to the principal governments. His manifesto disclaiming the peace with the* TURKS. TOPAL OSMAN BASHA *appointed* SERASKIER *of the* TURKISH *army.* KOULI KHAN *marches to* BAGDAT.

THE distractions of the preceding years seemed to have banished all sentiments of virtue from the hearts of the PERSIANS; insomuch, that the unfortunate SHAH TÆHMAS had really no friends, or none who were men of abilities. The only persons who had been about him since his restoration, remarkable for their honour and capacity, were MYRZA DAUDAM, a GEORGIAN prince, who had been married to one of his sisters in his father's time; and SEFFIE KOULI KHAN; the first of these was killed in the late action at ERIVAN, and the latter being taken prisoner,

1723. ſoner, fell a ſacrifice to the reſentment of the TURKS, as already related. It is probable, that the general aimed at the deſtruction of thoſe, whom he apprehended would be the greateſt bar to his ambition. Whether he meant to procure their removal, or only to gain the confidence of his maſter, that he might the more eaſily get him into his poſſeſſion, is not material; this concluſion we may draw from the SHAH's paſſive conduct, that it probably encouraged KOULI KHAN to proceed farther than he at firſt intended.

It is certain, however, when he diſcovered that the letters produced no effect with regard to the perſons whom he deſired to deſtroy, he naturally concluded that he was himſelf marked out for deſtruction; for he could not be ignorant in what degree his conduct had rendered him obnoxious. He acquainted the chiefs of his army with his apprehenſions, and poſſeſſed them with an opinion, that their intereſt and ſafety were inſeparably connected with his own. The ſentiments which they had previouſly entertained of the king and his court, together with the late peace concluded with the TURKS, confirmed them in an opinion, that the king had reſolved to diſband the army, and to call the general and his adherents to a ſevere account. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN artfully inſinuated, that there was an expedient by which they could not only preſerve themſelves, but alſo ſave their country from the conſequences of this ruinous peace.

He then communicated the project he had formed, of depoſing TÆHMAS, and putting that prince's ſon, ABAS MYRZA, an infant of ſix months, in his place; and ſince there was no other method, he would, with their approbation, enter immediately on this important buſineſs, the conduct of which they might leave to him. The matter being thus agreed, under an engagement of the moſt inviolable ſecrecy; the next ſtep was how to prevail on the SHAH to leave the city, and afford him a fair opportunity of ſecuring his perſon.

Whatever deſigns the SHAH might have, he diſſembled them for the preſent, without ſeeming to be ſuſpicious; and tho' he had deſtroyed the treaſonable letters, yet they made ſuch an impreſſion on him, that he

thought the general at leaſt as faithful as his other courtiers; and there- 1732.
fore made no ſcruple to accept an invitation to ſee his army in review. The evolutions and appearance of his ſoldiers gave him great ſatisfaction, and might have afforded him a fair opportunity of removing the general. The ſight of their prince naturally drew the attention of the ſubalterns and common ſoldiers: as he rode through the ranks, many of them declared aloud, "That if he had any particular command they were ready "to execute it." The boldeſt traitor, whilſt a plot is ripening for execution, muſt feel ſome tremors, when there is any ground to think his treaſon is diſcovered. The general, in whoſe hearing this declaration was made, was at firſt ſurprized; but recovering himſelf, he deſired the SHAH to tell them, "That as the command of the army was given to him, the "proof of their obedience to their ſovereign was to obey their general."

After the review was over, the KHAN invited the SHAH to a repaſt. This crafty AFSHAR, as if he had learnt from that maſter of treachery MIR VAIS, how to carry his treaſon into execution [a], though his purpoſe was not bloody; had prepared this ſnare to entangle his ſovereign. Whether fatigue or the infuſion of a drug helped to overpower the king; a ſmall quantity of wine intoxicated him. Under theſe circumſtances, this unhappy prince was an object of the deriſion of the general's creatures; and in this condition he ordered him to be removed to an apartment in the gardens of HAZARJERIB, there to be kept under a ſtrong guard. The king's attendants, who inſiſted on the right of taking charge of his majeſty's perſon, were ſeized by the guards, and put under confinement.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN having corrupted the great officers of ſtate, as well as his own generals, called an aſſembly the next day, which he harangued to this effect: "All the world knows how much I have the "intereſt of my country at heart, and how prodigal I have been of my "life to advance the welfare of it. We have ſeen, by the late reign, the "fatal conſequences which attend a weak and puſillanimous conduct: and "ſhall we be idle ſpectators of our own ruin? SHAH TÆHMAS has al-

"ready

1732. "ready given us a proof of his incapacity to govern. Could a prince, "inſpired with a common reſolution, or in any degree ſenſible of the in- "tereſt of his ſubjects, have made ſo ſcandalous a peace with the TURKS: "a people, who have adopted it as a principle of their politics, as well "as religion, to pillage and lay waſte this country? There is no king "but he, who being worthy of a crown wears it with dignity; let us "haſten to dethrone a prince, whoſe weakneſs and cowardice will ſoon "plunge us into thoſe misfortunes, out of which we are but juſt re- "covered. We have in his ſon an heir of the true line, who under "the conduct of wiſe tutors will learn the art of government. In the "mean while the kingdom may be ruled by a regency, who have the "honour and intereſt of their country at heart."

This diſcourſe met with all the applauſe from thoſe who were intirely his creatures, which his moſt ſanguine expectations could ſuggeſt: he then demanded of the aſſembly, what ſhould be done further with the king; this queſtion alarmed them a little, fearing a deſign of putting him to death, which they would hardly have been wicked enough to conſent to. They made anſwer, that nothing more was neceſſary to be done; however, upon maturer deliberation, to prevent the diſorders which might ariſe from his being near ISFAHAN; it was agreed, that he ſhould be removed to ſome remote part in the eaſtern provinces of the empire; and he was accordingly ſent to SEBSAWAR [a], under a ſtrong convoy of OUSBEGS and AFGHANS of the SUNNI religion.

The next debate turned upon his ſucceſſor. As they ſet out on pretended principles of equity, and the general himſelf had declared, he meant to preſerve the diadem to the royal line in the perſon of the young ABAS, it could hardly be expected, even in this corrupt aſſembly, there ſhould be a ſingle perſon who dared to propoſe any other than the infant prince. Some of the moſt abandoned however, declared there was none ſo proper as the general himſelf, as the circumſtances of the ſtate required a prince who was capable of conducting an army. The KHAN rebuked them with an air of indignation; alledging, that the hereditary

[a] ...ity in KHORASAN.

hereditary rights of princes were facred, fo long as they took no ſtep to injure the people whom they govern. He was indeed already poſſeſſed of an unlimited power, and might have embraced ſo favourable a conjuncture to graſp at the crown; but he could not be ignorant, that ſuch an attempt would be attended with ſome danger. There muſt have been great numbers in his army, who were not yet entirely devoted to his ſervice; nor could the reputation of his exploits have ſo firmly eſtabliſhed his character, as to countenance ſo daring an attempt. We cannot ſay that his ambition yielded to his policy, but that he ſeaſoned both with patience, *till his army ſhould be more accuſtomed to his authority*, and receive more demonſtrative proofs of his abilities. 1732.

The apprehenſions of an inſurrection had induced the general to cauſe a proclamation to be made in the city, that no perſons ſhould ſtir out of their houſes; but as ſoon as he diſcovered that the neighbourhood of the army kept the people in ſufficient awe, and that the unfortunate TÆHMAS had no adherents who dared to oppoſe his pleaſure, he revoked thoſe orders, and buſineſs went on as uſual. Preparations were now made for the inauguration of the young prince ABAS. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN entered ISFAHAN with great pomp, and going directly to the palace, cauſed public notice to be given, that the KHAN and the great officers of the crown had declared SHAH TÆHMAS incapable of holding the reins of government; and therefore they had choſen his ſon ABAS, the third of that name, emperor of PERSIA.

The young infant was accordingly brought out in his cradle, and the diadem fixed to the right ſide of his head, as a mark of his ſovereignty; the general himſelf firſt took the oath of allegiance on the khoran, and proſtrated himſelf in homage to the new king; all the other great officers followed his example.

KOULI KHAN and his creatures now gave the law, not ſo much in form of a regency, as in conſequence of their offices. He had acquired the aſcendency, and was in fact the ſovereign. Orders were ſent to all the provinces, to notify the acceſſion of ABAS III. to the throne;

1732. and ſuch officers were appointed for the reſpective governments, as ſuited the pleaſure and intereſt of the general. He then celebrated his nuptials with the aunt of the dethroned SHAH. His eldeſt ſon, RIZA KOULI, we have obſerved, was appointed governor of KHORASAN; and his ſecond ſon, NEZR ALI, was now made governor of HERAT. His elder brother IBRAHIM, one of the followers of his fortunes, was made a KHAN, and the government of TAVRIS was aſſigned him. KHERMAN was conferred on his next brother. Beſides theſe, many other diſpoſitions of the like nature were made, and the ſeveral offices of moſt importance were given to perſons devoted to his intereſt. He then conſulted for the further advancement of his own fortune, and the gratification of his paſſion for military glory. All theſe events paſſed in the month of AUGUST.

Thus did this great wicked man, under the ſpecious pretence of promoting the honour and intereſt of his country, prepare the way to aſcend the giddy heights of his ambition. He ſeemed already to look down on theſe inſtruments of his pride, as wretches who were aſſiduous in forging their own chains.

The activity of his genius ſuffered not a moment to be loſt. In order to give the greater ſanction to his conduct, upon the principles of national love, he publiſhed a manifeſto, diſclaiming the peace which had been lately made with the TURKS. It was in a more particular manner addreſſed to the BASHA of BAGDAT, and conceived in theſe terms: "Be it known to you, the BASHA of BAGDAT, that we claim an indu-"bitable right of viſiting the tombs of the IMAMS, ALI, GHERBELLAI, "MAHALLADE, MOUZA, and HUSSEIN [b]. We demand the delivery of "all the PERSIANS who have been taken priſoners in the late war: and "as the blood of our countrymen yet ſmokes, and calls upon their ſove-"reign for vengeance, there ought to be ſo much ſhed of the ſubjects "of the grand ſignior, as theſe have ſpilt of the ſubjects of the king of "PERSIA. We make theſe our ſentiments known, that you may not "accuſe us of the diſhonour of taking you by ſurprize. We are going "ſoon

[b] Theſe are prophets who are held in veneration by the PERSIANS, and whoſe tombs are near BAGDAT.

" ſoon at the head of our victorious army to breathe the ſweet air of the 1732.
" plains of BAGDAT, and to take our repoſe under the ſhadow of its
" walls."

ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, immediately acquainted the OTTOMAN court of the extraordinary menace which had been ſent him. The TURKS being thus alarmed, the grand vizir and the mufti were diſgraced, as having been the chief adviſers in making a peace with the PERSIANS, at a time when the OTTOMAN armies were victorious. On the 6th of OCTOBER, the horſe's tail, which is the ſignal of war, was hung out at the ſeraglio at CONSTANTINOPLE; and the divan declared war againſt the PERSIANS with the ordinary ſolemnities. Orders were alſo ſent to equip a fleet of ſhips on the BLACK SEA, to tranſport a large body of Janiſſaries and Spahis to TREBISONDE, together with all kind of ammunition for the ſecurity of the ſtrong places in GEORGIA. The BASHAS of NATOLIA and EGYPT were ordered to ſend their quotas of men to the ſuccour of BAGDAT. At the ſame time, ACHMED BASHA put himſelf in a condition of holding out a long ſiege.

In the beginning of MARCH this year, TOPAL OSMAN, late vizir, and 1733.
now BASHA of TREBISONDE, was appointed generaliſſimo of the OTTOMAN army, which conſiſted of near 80,000 men. Tho' the caprice of the TURKS had rendered it neceſſary to deprive him of his office of vizir, his great valour and integrity, joined to a large experience, gave him the higheſt place in the eſteem of his maſter the grand ſignior: and the great ſhare he had in recommending the late pacific treaty with the PERSIANS, created in him a quicker reſentment of their violation of that treaty.

The grand ſignior acquainted the EUROPEAN courts of the cauſe of his military preparations, in conſequence of the uſurpation of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, under pretence of electing the infant-king ABAS. The PERSIAN general affected great unconcern at the menaces and preparations of the TURKS; for tho' he knew they could ſend large armies into the field, yet he ſcrupled not to declare, that the fortune of war did not ſo

1733. much depend on numbers, as on the valour and experience of ſoldiers. He thought it his intereſt however to cultivate a good underſtanding with the RUSSIANS, and ſent an embaſſador to acquaint them of the acceſſion of ABAS the III. to the throne of the PERSIAN empire. The court of ST. PETERSBURG received this embaſſador with all the honour due to miniſters of his rank; and tho' the depoſing of SHAH TÆHMAS was in itſelf a circumſtance ungrateful to them, yet the natural intereſt of RUSSIA could not but render it agreeable, to find that the TURKS were threatened to be humbled by the victorious troops of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN.

In the mean time, the PERSIAN general having collected all his forces from the eaſtern provinces, and engaged alſo a body of ARABIANS, the plains of HAMADAN were appointed for a general rendezvous. The army conſiſted of near 80,000 fighting men; and as the fortune of KOULI KHAN, and the bravery of his men promiſed ſome remarkable ſucceſs, the provinces ſent in their reſpective quotas of troops with great alacrity. Of the grandees of the court of ISFAHAN, ſome through hope of promotion, and others through fear of the reſentment of KOULI KHAN, were induced to accompany him in this war; which anſwered a double purpoſe to him, as it prevented their caballing in his abſence, and by means of their influence in their reſpective provinces, put him in a better capacity of carrying on the war with vigour.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN at the head of this formidable army, began his march from ISFAHAN in the month of FEBRUARY, directing his courſe towards HAMADAN. As ſoon as he arrived on the plains near that city, he made a general review of his forces, and encouraged his men by aſſuring them, that he did not doubt before it was long, he ſhould fix his ſtandards on the ramparts of CONSTANTINOPLE.

The firſt operation of the campaign was the ſiege of KERMANSHA *. SHAH TÆHMAS had certainly erred in his politics, in yielding up this place to the TURKS, as its vicinity to PERSIA muſt neceſſarily have occaſioned great jealouſies between the ſubjects, as well as the governments of both

* This is a great city, which DE LISLE's map includes in [redacted] AGAMI, but it is generally underſtood to be in KOURDS[redacted]

both countries. A great part of the inhabitants were PERSIANS; ſo that 1733.
TÆMAS KOULI KHAN was hardly arrived there with his whole army, when the inhabitants opened their gates to him. The unfortunate governor was put to death, in return for the violence on SEFFIE KOULI KHAN at CONSTANTINOPLE; this execution was performed in the ſight of the whole army. Several other TURKS had the ſame fate [d]. After appointing ABDAL BAKI KHAN as governor, and leaving a garriſon of his own people in this city, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN began his march towards BAGDAT. This was the favourite object he had in view: he knew that ACHMED, BASHA of that city and its dependencies, had made the neceſſary preparations for its defence; but he flattered himſelf, that by taking the field ſo much earlier than the TURKS could collect an army to oppoſe him, he ſhould bring the BASHA to a ſubmiſſion.

The TURKS had the precaution to ſend detachments of their forces to guard the defiles on the PERSIAN ſide, which cover the plains towards the frontiers of BAGDAT. Theſe however were eaſily forced; the TURKS having neither ſkill, courage, nor numbers to ſtop the progreſs of the PERSIAN army. Traverſing the great foreſt between the cities MENDELI and NEZERETH, he paſſed the river SYNNEE, on the banks of which the TURKS had in vain erected ſeveral batteries. Then coming into the plains of BAGDAT, he croſſed the river KENTOUL, which is a branch of the TIGRIS, and after a march of twenty days, he arrived the 10th of APRIL under the walls of BAGDAT.

[d] *I cannot help remarking, how fond ſome writers of hiſtorical accounts of* PERSIA *are of ſhedding blood: if any number of perſons are put to death, they make whole cities maſſacred. Again, if an army conſiſts of 50,000 men, they mention them as 100,000; but this laſt error ſeems to ariſe from the numerous followers of the camp.*

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Deſcription of BAGDAT. *This city is beſieged. The conduct of* KOULI KHAN. *The vigilance of* ACHMED BASHA. *Stratagem of* TOPAL OSMAN. *The* PERSIAN *army defeated with great ſlaughter. Letter of* ACHMED BASHA *to the grand ſignior. Great rejoicings at the* OTTOMAN *court for the victory over the* PERSIANS. TOPAL OSMAN *ſends his army into quarters.*

1733. BEFORE we enter upon any circumſtance relating to the ſiege of BAGDAT, it may afford ſome light to the ſubject, to give a ſhort account of this famous city, in the neighbourhood of which formerly ſtood the metropolis [e] of one of the moſt antient and moſt potent monarchies in the world. The place is generally called BAGDAT or BAGDAD, tho' ſome writers preſerve the antient name of BABYLON. The reaſon of thus confounding theſe two cities is, that the TIGRIS and EUPHRATES forming one common ſtream before they diſembogue into the PERSIAN gulph, are not unfrequently mentioned as one and the ſame river. It is certain that the preſent BAGDAT is ſituated on the TIGRIS [f], but the antient BABYLON, according to all hiſtorians ſacred and prophane, was on the EUPHRATES. The ruins of the latter, which geographical writers place about fifteen leagues to the ſouth of BAGDAT, are now ſo much effaced, that there are hardly any veſtiges of them to point out the ſituation. In the time of the emperor THEODOSIUS there was only a great park remaining, in which the kings of PERSIA bred wild beaſts for the amuſement of hunting.

BAGDAT,

[e] BABYLON, the ſeat of the kings of ASSYRIA.

[f] The waters of this river, which is called DIDGELIL by the TURKS and PERSIANS, are reckoned extremely wholeſome, and not leſs agreeable to the taſte. This river iſſues with a great noiſe from a cavern to the north of the city DIARBEKIR, near which there is a very good ſtone bridge over it. Before it reaches this place it takes in ſeveral other rivers, and running to the eaſtward is augmented by the MEINI, FERDGIL, BICHERI, and others which come from the eaſt. After paſſing BAGDAT it receives a great increaſe from the DIALA, and meets the EUPHRATES not far from OGENASIR. Near VASIT it divides into many branches, and forms ſeveral iſlands, called the iſlands of the ARABIAN river. At CORNA it again joins the EUPHRATES, and diſembogues itſelf into the PERSIAN gulph below BASSORA, its whole courſe being computed [illegible] leagues.

BAGDAT, formerly the ſeat of the ABBASSINEAN CALIPHS, is the capital of IRAC-ARABI. This country is reckoned 120 leagues long and 80 broad, though great part of it is very poorly inhabited. It includes ſeveral diſtricts, and is one of the moſt important governments in the OTTOMAN empire. The city is ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the TIGRIS, on the banks of which it extends about two miles. It was built on the ruins of the antient SELEUCIA, near the year 760. The government of the CALIPHS being extinct, the city was united to the kingdom of PERSIA about the year 1250, but was taken by AMURATH the IVth in 1638, and has remained under the dominion of the OTTOMAN empire, notwithſtanding the repeated efforts of the PERSIAN monarchs to recover it. 1733.

The fortification is compoſed of lofty thick walls of brick, covered with earth, ſtrengthened by great towers in form of baſtions placed at certain diſtances, and protected by a deep ditch, which can be filled at any time by the waters of the TIGRIS. The citadel is on the north ſide and commands the river. The whole fortification is furniſhed with near 200 pieces of cannon [s]. The garriſon generally conſiſts of a body of ten thouſand men, and in time of war more than twice that number beſides the ordinary militia, which is 12,000 men. From hence it is eaſy to conceive, that under an experienced commander this place could hardly be taken by an eaſtern army, any otherwiſe than by famine. It is happy ſituation on the TIGRIS is an advantage which enables it, upon the apprehenſion of an enemy, to lay in a large ſupply of proviſions.

The ſuburbs being very extenſive, and raiſed on both ſides of the TIGRIS, there is a communication by a bridge of boats, the only one which that river will admit of, as it is broad and deep, and in its ordinary courſe very rapid. At certain ſeaſons it ſwells to a prodigious height, and overflowing the country, occaſions many moraſſes on the ſide oppoſite to the city. Among theſe are ſeveral towns and villages, whoſe inhabitants are ſaid to be the antient CALDEANS. Theſe people are of a particular religion

[s] Theſe were formerly only 18 pounders, but of late ſome of them have been exchanged for heavier.

1733. gion, which they pretend is that of SETH: there are alſo a great number of ARABS in this neighbourhood, who render travelling dangerous. The advantage of the TIGRIS is ſo conſiderable with regard to commerce, that altho' the climate is exceſſive hot, and in other reſpects far from being agreeable, yet there are a great number of inhabitants in this city. The greateſt part of theſe are PERSIANS, ARMENIANS, and JEWS. The two laſt occupy near half the city, and drive a conſiderable trade with BASSORA [b], and the inland parts. The JEWS are the more engaged to live here, from a reverence to the ſepulchre of the prophet EZEKIEL, which it is pretended is a day's journey from the city.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN having found means to corrupt ſome of the inhabitants of this important city, made his advances with great confidence. However, he was in want of artillery, and of courſe in no capacity to make regular approaches, had he poſſeſſed the ſkill of an EUROPEAN general. His great buſineſs was to inveſt the city, and force the inhabitants to a ſubmiſſion by famine, or ſubdue them by ſtratagem. MYRZA KHAN, an officer of great valour and experience, who had been an early follower of the fortunes of KOULI KHAN, was ſent with 10,000 men a league up the TIGRIS, and paſſed the river near the ſuburbs of KOUCH KALESSI [i]. This detachment executed their buſineſs without any conſiderable loſs: after pillaging the town, they fixed their camp in that neighbourhood [k]. Here they found a piece of cannon of a very great ſize, which the BASHA, nothwithſtanding his great circumſpection, had neglected to bring away, or render uſeleſs. But this was the only battering cannon in the PERSIAN army, and was by no means ſufficient to make a breach, tho' it was uſed with ſome ſucceſs, and helped to intimidate the inhabitants.

BAGDAT,

[b] They have cover'd veſſels called TEKNES, in which they bring the produce of INDIA and other countries up the TIGRIS. There are alſo others call'd DANEKS and GURABS.

[i] Signifies in ARABIC the bird tower.

[k] It is reported that the waters of the TIGRIS ſoon after ſwell'd to a great degree, and cut off all communication from the main body of the PERSIAN army: that the TURKS took the opportunity to attack this officer, who maintained his ground very gallantly; but being over-power'd by numbers was obliged to retreat after a conſiderable loſs. And that this circumſtance, in a great meaſure, contributed to the defeat of the PERSIAN general ſome time after. But what TURKS theſe were who defeated him is not ſaid, unleſs it was after the battle of KERKOUD; and as TOPAL OSMAN, as well as ACHMED BASHA, are ſilent on this head, I muſt leave MYRZA KHAN [illegible] as the reader pleaſes.

BAGDAT was now closely blocked up on both sides the TIGRIS, by an army of 80,000 men, so that neither troops, ammunition, nor provisions could be thrown into the town. The TURKISH garrison within the walls consisted of about 20,000 men, besides the militia. They laboured however under the great inconveniency of having a number of PERSIAN inhabitants, some of whom might be supposed in the interest of the PERSIAN general; so that ACHMED had his attention divided both within and without the walls. But in order to prevent any evil consequence from hence, tho' the majority were much more disposed to live under the TURKISH government than the PERSIAN; he caused some of the principal among them to take up their lodging in the citadel, as hostages for the good behaviour of their countrymen. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN having thus cantoned his army, and blockaded the city, expected to oblige ACHMED BASHA to a surrender by famine: nor could he well have failed, if his vanity had not got the better of his prudence. 1733.

TOPAL OSMAN BASHA, though an able and experienced officer, and zealous in the last degree for the glory of his master, and the welfare of his country; would hardly have been able to relieve BAGDAT, and prevent its being dismembered from the OTTOMAN empire, had the PERSIAN general been less confident of his success. When this BASHA was appointed SERASKIER [l] of the OTTOMAN army, his credit at the port was very great; yet the succours and reinforcements of money, troops, and ammunition, which were promised him, were sent only in small proportions, and in a very irregular manner, so that he was unavoidably obliged to remain several months in a state of inaction.

During this interval, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, already anticipating his triumphs in imagination, wrote to the BASHA of MOSUL, summoning him to surrender, adding words to this effect [m]: "I am informed that a certain "TURKISH general, whose slow advances give me no great idea of his "courage,

[l] General in chief

[m] Messages of defiance have been long diffused among EUROPEAN generals; nor would I have inserted these, but to give some idea of the character of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN.

1733. " courage, has been a long time in march, intending to oppose my con-
" quest. Let him know, that I desire he will make more speed; and,
" in order to shorten his way, I will meet him with part of my forces,
" which are sufficient to make him repent of his rashness. I will not
" only take his little army, but himself also as a child in his BECHIK [a]."
TOPAL OSMAN being informed of this message, replied: " The grand
" signior my master has armies as numerous as the sands of the seas, and
" many chiefs to conduct his forces; but he has chosen my feeble arm,
" with only a small army, to confound thy pride. It is true, I am lame [b],
" old, and sickly, but I hope by the assistance of the Almighty, that
" thou wilt meet the fate of NIMROD [c]."

In order to facilitate the junction of his troops, as well as to advance nearer BAGDAT, TOPAL OSMAN decamped from DIARBEKIR, and marched along the banks of the TIGRIS; he passed this river at MOSUL, and continued his march towards CHERCHESENE. This province is subject to the OTTOMAN empire, and had been laid waste by the PERSIANS. He then directed his course to KERKOUD [d], a city forty leagues distant from MOSUL, where the BASHA of the province resides. He had several considerable branches of the TIGRIS to pass, besides the rivers HAZIR, JARB, and ALTUN; over some of these he was obliged to transport his troops on floats, which retarded his march; whilst this army was forming, by the several detachments and small parties which joined him from different parts. In this situation, if KOULI KHAN had put himself at the head of a body of his best troops, and at the same time left a sufficient number, which he could have done, to stop the communications to BAGDAT, in all probability he might have rendered the utmost efforts of the SERASKIER ineffectual. But his vanity betrayed him: elate with his successes, which hitherto

[a] This word signifies cradle and litter; TOPAL OSMAN on account of his infirmities being obliged to use the latter. [b] TOPAL in the TURKISH language signifies lame, and was an appellation given to OSMAN, according to the custom in TURKEY, in consequence of a wound he received, which really lamed him, the circumstances of which I shall relate hereafter. [c] The TURKS have a fabulous tradition, that the pride of NIMROD, who equalled himself with GOD, was chastised by a singular providence, in a fly creeping up his nose to his brain, with which he died in excessive pain; and the BASHA here expresses himself with humility, by way of contrast to the insolence of KOULI KHAN. [d] This place is also called CHERAZOUR, and is generally esteemed the capital of KOURDISTAN

hitherto had met with no interruption, he affected to treat the TURKS as enemies not in the leaſt formidable. 1733.

While the TURKISH army was forming, KOULI KHAN erected two forts about two leagues from BAGDAT, one on each ſide of the TYGRIS, which communicated by a bridge of boats. He then cauſed a great number of houſes to be built upon the banks of the river: in ſome of theſe the principal officers reſided, and lodged their wives and houſhold: others were occupied by part of the ſoldiery, or uſed by ſutlers and artificers, with ſhops well ſupplied. The ſame abundance ſeemed to reign here, as in the richeſt city in the heart of PERSIA.

It is probable, that KOULI KHAN was actuated by motives of policy, in building theſe houſes; for on the one hand, this was likely to excite his troops to the greater bravery, in order to ſave their effects from being plundered, and their wives and children from captivity; and, on the other, the TURKISH garriſon might be driven to deſpair, by ſeeing the enemy build a city under their walls. However, it is certain, by ſuch methods, and by his threatening ſummons, the inhabitants were intimidated to a very great degree. He let them know continually, that they ſhould have quarter and good uſage, if they ſurrendered; adding, that TOPAL OSMAN was abſolutely unable to relieve them; and, if they obliged him to give an aſſault, he would make a general maſſacre, or ſell into ſlavery all who ſhould eſcape the ſword. The extreme neceſſity the town laboured under occaſioned ſuch murmurings, that it required all the addreſs of ACHMED BASHA to prevent an inſurrection. He was therefore obliged to puniſh ſome, and to ſooth others; feigning falſe expreſſes from TOPAL OSMAN, that he was in full march, and juſt on the point of relieving them.

The inhabitants were likewiſe intimidated by the ſtratagems of KOULI KHAN, who often ſent from his camp in the night detached parties of ſeveral thouſands, both horſe and foot, with orders to make a long round, and enter the camp another way, with colours flying, as if they were freſh reinforcements. To inſult the miſery of the inhabitants, as if he

1733. knew their diſtreſs, he ſent ACHMED BASHA a preſent of ſome carts load of water melons, deſiring him to divert his hunger. ACHMED returned his compliments, and ſent a handſome preſent of the beſt bread; obſerving, that with ſuch he made a ſhift to gratify his own hunger, and that of the citizens. Indeed the BASHA played his part ſo well, that KOULI KHAN was really ignorant to what an extremity the city was reduced. The vigilance and abilities of the governor, had hitherto defeated the arts of the PERSIAN general; but matters were at laſt brought to ſuch an extremity, after being blo ked up three months, that no kind of neceſſaries could have been procured for four days longer; ſo that the town muſt have inevitably fallen into the hands of a cruel and enraged enemy.

TOPAL OSMAN, having now increaſed his army to near 80,000, in his march to KERKOUD had taken two PERSIAN priſoners. He ordered them to be brought before him, treated them civilly, and enquired if they were well acquainted with the by-roads and private ways to BAGDAT. Upon their anſwering in the affirmative, he told them, that as upon that account they were much fitter for his purpoſe than any of his own people, who would certainly be taken; if they would undertake ſo bold an action, and deliver a letter into the hands of ACHMED BASHA, the governor of BAGDAT, he would give each of them a thouſand ſequins before they ſet out; and that they might expect greater rewards if they proved faithful, as the letter was of the greateſt conſequence. However he demanded of them to ſwear fidelity to him, to which they conſented. The letter was to this effect: "As I have not yet been joined by all the troops I "expect, I am obliged to march very ſlowly, in order to give the reſt "time to come up, before I am too near to TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, "againſt whom I am not yet able to make head; therefore I deſire you "will have ſtill ſome farther patience: keep yourſelf cloſe within your "walls, and huſband, to the beſt advantage, what proviſions and neceſ-"ſaries are yet left."

The two PERSIANS were no honeſter than he expected: they received their ſequins, and haſtened to the camp of KOULI KHAN, in hopes of a further reward from their own general. The letter produced all the effects

the SERASKIER could desire. The expectations of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN swelled to the highest degree; and in the triumph of his imagination he looked upon the SERASKIER as already vanquished. 1733.

By the first motions of TOPAL OSMAN's army towards KERKOUD, it seemed as if he had intended to go directly to BAGDAT; but as he must have been obliged to pass thro' a barren desert, where the troops would have suffered greatly, he returned to the ALLAN, where that river discharges itself into the TIGRIS: the army then marched by the mountain of GEOBAR along the TIGRIS, till they came to DULJEILUCK[r], about twelve leagues from BAGDAT.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN having advice of the march of the TURKS, detached thirty thousand men, mostly cavalry, hoping that the enemy, by the favour of the night, as they were pitching their tents, or decamping, might be surprized. The general of the detachment having taken two TURKISH prisoners, who reported that TOPAL OSMAN had an army of above 100,000 men; this determined him to acquaint KOULI KHAN of his information; and that not being willing to venture against a force said to be so powerful, he waited his orders. KOULI KHAN, upon this, immediately marched at the head of his forces, which were near 70,000, leaving a considerable body of his men[s] before BAGDAT.

The TURKISH army decamped the evening of the 18th of JULY, and marched towards KERKOUD, near which the SERASKIER proposed to encamp. About sun-rising, the advanced guard of the TURKISH army, commanded by BOULAD ACHMED, BASHA of ADENE, met a detachment of the PERSIANS, and a skirmish ensued. Had the SERASKIER been disposed to act on the defensive, the antient bed of the TIGRIS was before him, which formed a deep fosse; but he chose to favour the spirit of his troops: and tho' it was attended with some difficulty, he passed this ditch with his army and artillery. Having reached the plain, he ranged his forces in battalia, in the form of a crescent, dividing them into five different

[r] Called also DUCKURY.

[s] This body is said to have been 10,000, and we accordingly find they were put to flight immediately when the TURKS sallied out

1733. different bodies. He himſelf commanded the troops of ROMANIA[t] in the center; ABDALLAH AGA was at the head of the right wing with the Janiſſaries; the KOURDS, and other different troops, under IBRAHIM, late BASHA of CONIE, forming the left wing. MAHOMMED BASHA commanded in the rear.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN had hardly time to make a diſpoſition of his forces; and his ground was full of hillocks of ſand: however, he divided his men into ten different columns. As he had intended to make the attack, he was a little diſconcerted in ſeeing the BASHA of ADENE, with the TURKISH cavalry that compoſed their van-guard, advance upon him with great fury; yet his preſence of mind was not wanting: he animated his men, and expoſed himſelf ſo greatly to danger in the heat of the action, that he had two horſes killed under him.

At length the TURKISH cavalry gave way, and were puſhed as far as their infantry; but theſe made ſo good a countenance, that the fury of the PERSIANS was ſtopped. The PERSIANS thus appearing ſuperior, ſome of the TURKISH officers counſelled the SERASKIER to make a retreat to his camp; to which he declared, that he would rather periſh than do any thing that had the appearance of flight. He then ordered the troops of ROMANIA in the center, and the Janiſſaries in the right wing, to be led up againſt the center of the PERSIAN army, conſiſting of 15,000 foot, which ſoon gave way.

The KOURDS, and other different people, who compoſed the left wing of the TURRISH army, and whoſe chief attention was to wait an opportunity of pillage, were now induced to fall on the right wing of the PERSIANS: theſe maintained their ground very gallantly for ſome time. NADIR had taken the precaution not only to break up the ways towards MOSUL[u], but alſo to ſend a detachment of 3000 ARABS,

[t] Theſe EUROPEAN TURKS are eſteemed the braveſt.

[u] Near this place is a very remarkable ruin, in which is an arch, that appears to have been the frontiſpiece of a great temple, which the inhabitants, who deal in the marvellous, imagine to be part of NINIVEH, and that it was built by NINUS the ſon of BALOS, or BELUS; they ſhew in the neighbourhood the place where the prophet JONAS inhabited, in honour of whom they have built a little chapel, which they viſit with

ARABS [y], ſupported by as many PERSIANS, to guard the paſſes on that ſide, againſt the BASHA of that place, in caſe he ſhould attempt to aſſiſt TOPAL OSMAN: but the BASHA advanced, and having found means to corrupt the ARABS, theſe not only abandoned the paſs, but joining the TURKS, obliged the PERSIANS to retire; and then advancing with him, fell upon the main body of the PERSIANS in flank, whilſt the whole TURKISH army were already engaged. The PERSIANS could not ſupport the ſhock: TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN did all that was poſſible to rally them, but in vain. The ſtandard-bearer [z], either through fear, or being cloſely preſſed, rode off the field; and a total rout enſued. 1733.

The ſcene of this action being a ſandy plain, and the duration of it not leſs than eight hours, the PERSIANS were ſo much fatigued, that their flight was rendered the more difficult. Clouds of duſt, with the ſcorching heat of the weather, without a poſſibility of getting water, added to their diſtreſs, and expoſed them the more to be ſlaughtered by their purſuers. Their loſs upon this occaſion, was not leſs than 30,000 men, cavalry and infantry; with all their baggage, their camels, and harquebuſſes. The latter did very little execution, in compariſon to the TURKISH artillery.

The number of priſoners taken by the TURKS amounted to about 3000: their victory however coſt them dear, for they loſt near as many men as the PERSIANS. TOPAL OSMAN aſcribed the glory of this day to the bravery of ABDALLAH, the KIAYA, and the Janiſſaries, whom he led on to action. ABDALLAH being quite ſpent with fatigue, fainted in the field; the good TOPAL OSMAN ſupported him in his arms, and when he recovered, aſſured him that the grand ſignior ſhould be informed of his merit, and how much the victory, under GOD, had been owing to him, and to the bravery of the ſoldiers he commanded. The SERASKIER then diſpatched meſſengers to DIARBEKIR, BAGDAT, and other governments,

devotion: their tradition concerning the prophet differs not much from that of the ſcripture.

[y] This circumſtance is not mentioned by thoſe who are of the TURKISH intereſt, but is not, I believe, without foundation; becauſe, we do not find that NADIR ever afterwards choſe their treacherous alliance.

[z] See Vol. I. page 248.

1733. ments, as well as to CONSTANTINOPLE, with an account of the success of the OTTOMAN arms.

In the mean while, ACHMED BASHA, with his garrison at BAGDAT, sallied out, and attacked the PERSIANS, whom KOULI KHAN had left in their entrenchments: they made a gallant defence, but were at length obliged to yield to numbers. Here the besieged found a supply of corn and other provisions, which was in the highest degree welcome to them after so much distress.

ACHMED no sooner received the joyful news of TOPAL OSMAN's signal victory, than he also dispatched a messenger to CONSTANTINOPLE, to inform his master the grand signior of the state of affairs in that great city. As this letter appears to be genuine, and gives an idea not only of the circumstances in which the TURKS were, but likewise of the ORIENTAL manner of writing, it may perhaps be acceptable.

" May GOD be ever praised and blessed; for, by his grace, the com-
" mander of the sultan's armies, the ever invincible TOPAL OSMAN
" BASHA, on whom may the most high ever shed his bounties; and
" may he find mercy before the throne of GOD, at the sounding of the
" trumpet. He has delivered us from the afflictions we have suffered,
" since we were besieged by the PERSIAN armies. The distress of the
" garrison and inhabitants of this city was incredible; and is beyond de-
" scription. We were surrounded; we were blocked up; we were en-
" compassed for the space of a whole league. During three long months,
" TAHMAS KOULI KHAN, with a body of his troops, pitched his tents
" at IMAN AZEM, on the side of the TIGRIS towards PERSIA, about half
" a league from the city, where he fortified himself with strong lines and
" redoubts; and used all means to frighten us to a surrender.

" Sometimes he detached part of his troops, without our being able
" to perceive it; and ordered them to enter another quarter of his camp,
" with drums beating, and colours flying, and with the sound of trum-
" pets, as if they were fresh forces coming from all quarters to his as-

" ſiſtance. He built forts on each ſide the TIGRIS, well mounted with 1733.
" artillery; ſo that all communication was cut off. He was continually
" ſummoning us to ſurrender; offering good terms if we would capitu-
" late, and threatening us with the ſword and captivity if we delayed;
" endeavouring to excite the people to mutiny. Your ſlave took every
" method to keep up their ſpirits; I held aſſemblies of the people of
" war; I told them from time to time that I had advice from the invin-
" cible TOPAL OSMAN BASHA, on whom may the bleſſings of GOD de-
" ſcend, that he was at ſuch a place, and would ſoon come and pour
" upon the enemy the irreſiſtible force of the OTTOMAN arms, ever
" victorious, and we ſhould ſoon be delivered.

" On the firſt day of the moon SEFER [a], the vizir TOPAL OSMAN
" BASHA ſent me an expreſs from KERKOUD, by which I received his
" high commands, letting me know that he was arrived at that place.
" I immediately read his letter publicly, that all the people and inhabi-
" tants might be acquainted with the news; they would hardly believe
" the letter to be genuine; I was obliged to ſhew it to every one, that
" they might with their own eyes view the ſeal and hand-writing of the
" great commander, and prevent their deſpair.

" On the fourth of [b] SEFER in the morning, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN ranged
" his army in battle array, and marched towards VUGIUM, leaving a large
" body of his troops behind him to block us up. As ſoon as our garri-
" ſon and the inhabitants of the city were informed of this, their anxiety
" was renewed. Sometimes they were clamorous to have the gates
" opened, that they might ſally forth: ſometimes they were determined
" to wait for further news: every one, men and women, young and
" old, continued without intermiſſion, their hands claſped, and their eyes
" turned to heaven, beſeeching GOD and his prophet to grant ſucceſs to
" our arms.

" On the ninth [c] of SEFER, juſt at break of day, as we were lying in
" duſt, offering our prayers to GOD, we perceived on the ſide of the
" deſart,

[a] The 1ſt of JULY. [b] The 16th of JULY. [c] The 21ſt of JULY.

1733. " deſart, and towards the gate KARANI CAPSI, an officer with twenty-
" five horſe-men, with their ſabres in their hands. They cried with a
" loud voice, and ſaid, open to us the gates, for we bring good tidings
" to ACHMED BASHA. At firſt your ſlave believing them to be ſpies,
" doubted to give them entrance. But as the AGA who commanded them
" was known to ſeveral people from the walls, I cauſed the gate to be
" opened. As ſoon as he was entered, they began to call aloud, O in-
" habitants of BAGDAT forget your ſorrows and rejoice, for the great and
" mighty commander TOPAL OSMAN BASHA, has entirely vanquiſhed the
" army of the PERSIANS; he has cut in pieces 60,000 of the enemy [c]:
" TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN is fled undiſtinguiſhed among thoſe whom our
" ſabres could not reach.

" The officer then delivered to me the letter which the invincible vizir
" had wrote, imparting to me the news of his victory. No ſooner was
" this ſpread abroad, than the whole city ſeemed as people riſen from
" the dead: they ſaid with one common voice, let us fall upon the re-
" mains of the PERSIANS before they have time to fly. The garriſon
" aſſembled with the principal inhabitants of the city, and your ſlave at
" their head, fell upon the PERSIANS; we poured in upon them like
" the mighty torrents, like the thunder of the waters of the Almighty;
" they reſiſted for ſome time, but at length gave way to our victorious
" arms, and fell under the edge of our ſabres. All their artillery, am-
" munition and proviſions, which were in great abundance, by the fa-
" vour of the prophet came into our poſſeſſion.

" A great number of people who had no horſes, and others who were
" too old to bear arms, bowing their heads, and croſſing their arms,
" and covering themſelves with the dreſs of the grave, having in a moſt
" ſupplicant manner cried for mercy; my bowels were moved with com-
" paſſion towards them, I pitied their condition, and ordered that quar-
" ter ſhould be given them, with liberty to retire. As for thoſe who
" fled over the plains, it was no longer a fight, it was a hunting in the
" foreſt,

[c] We may allow people to magnify their ſucceſs extremely on ſuch an occaſion as this; and this happens to be double the number which the PERSIANS really loſt.

" foreſt, a chace of the beaſts of the deſart. Our victorious troops cutting 1733.
" down every thing before them, purſued the enemy with the ſword.

" The next day we returned thanks to GOD and his prophet: we " planted on the walls the ſtandards of the vanquiſhed enemy, with all " the other trophies of our victory. After the public rejoicings and " thankſgivings were over, we buried in their tombs ſuch of our people " as had the glory to receive the crown of martyrdom. We then cut " off the heads of all the enemy who were ſlain; we piled them in " heaps on the field of battle; and threw the bodies into the TIGRIS. " The day after, the great and mighty conqueror, TOPAL OSMAN BASHA, " arrived with his victorious army at IMAM AZEM, the ſuburbs of BAG- " DAT, whither the people of all ranks, young and old, ran to lick the " duſt of his feet.

" The day following, I, your ſlave, accompanied by the BASHAS and " great officers here, with my whole retinue, and all the principal in- " habitants of BAGDAT, went with the great SERASKIER, and returned " thanks in the moſque of IMAM AZEM, for the victories obtained, and " for the end of our great afflictions. I ſend you this account, under the " providence of GOD, by CHASSOUCAR AGA, whom may the Almighty " ſafely conduct."

TOPAL OSMAN remained with the TURKISH army two days on the field of battle burying the dead: this victory coſt very dear, not only by the death of ſo many common ſoldiers, but alſo by the loſs of many perſons of great diſtinction. The wounded, who were in great numbers, he ſent to MOSUL. Among theſe he found the father-in-law and nephew of KOULI KHAN, whom he treated with great generoſity; and after their wounds were dreſſed, he ſent them to the PERSIAN general, with ſome propoſitions concerning a peace [s]. To the latter no reply was made; but he acknowledged his obligations to the SERASKIER for the humane treatment of his relations, and that he hoped 'ere long to return the obligation after the ſame manner.

[s] Others mention their having been ſent to CONSTANTINOPLE; but I believe TOPAL OSMAN [illegible] than to enrage KOULI KHAN.

1733. The TURKISH general no ſooner received a report of the circumſtances of his own army after the battle, than he ſent one of his favourite [d] officers to CONSTANTINOPLE with the news of his victory, which was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and magnified beyond the truth. The ſpirit of the court however was a little damp'd, when a ſecond meſſenger from the general arrived eight days afterwards, to acquaint the grand ſignior, that the army was in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions, the country round BAGDAT having been ruined by the PERSIANS; and moreover, that tho' he had been victorious, yet his loſſes were ſo great, that he requeſted an immediate and large ſupply of recruits; that as for himſelf, his age and infirmities were ſuch, that he begged his highneſs would give the command of the army to one more able to ſerve him, as the duty required all the ſtrength of youth, as well as the experience of old age; for he foreſaw that KOULI KHAN would ſoon return with a numerous army, when he ſhould not be in ſo good a condition to receive him as before.

This news was however ſuppoſed to be in a great meaſure owing to the modeſty of the BASHA; ſo that inſtead of making ſuch proviſion as had been repreſented as neceſſary, they loaded him with new honours which he did not deſire. His ſon-in-law was made BEGLERBEG of ROMANIA, and his ſon a BASHA of three tails: he had alſo leave to diſpoſe of all military employments, and to diſtribute rewards according to the merit of his officers; and if he ſhould think it moſt for the honour and ſafety of the empire, he might alſo negotiate a peace. To theſe great honours and ſignal inſtances of the confidence repoſed in him, were added the higheſt commendations of his valour and conduct.

In the mean time, the court would not be perſuaded, that after ſo ſignal victory there could be ſuch a neceſſity of ſuccours as the BASHA repreſented: the ſight of the three thouſand PERSIAN priſoners filled their mind ſo much with the idea of conqueſt, and a fond perſuaſion of the diſtreſſed condition of the PERSIAN army, that a ſufficient care was not taken to anſwer the demands of the SERASKIER. The great diſtance of

[d] On theſe occaſions the TURKISH generals give their meſſengers a golden ornament, in form of a plume, with three points, by which means the people where [illegible] are to underſtand he is the meſſenger of victory or good

of the army, and the poverty of the ſtate, was a farther reaſon why the court was ſo remiſs, whilſt their general ſeemed to be the only man who knew how much the ſtrength and valour of the enemy was to be dreaded. He had accordingly made ſuch a diſpoſition of his troops in the neighbouring country, as was neceſſary to their ſupport, with orders to aſſemble in the plains near BAGDAT the end of AUGUST, himſelf, with 30,000 men, remaining at KERKOUD. 1733.

CHAP. XI.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN *prepares for another action: his ſtratagem.* TOPAL OSMAN *obliged to continue in his command.* POULAK BASHA *abandons the poſt of* TAKAJAK. TOPAL OSMAN *collects his forces, and meets the* PERSIANS. *Battle of* LEILAM *the* 22*d of* OCTOBER. *Second battle of* LEILAM. TOPAL OSMAN *killed, and the* TURKISH *army routed.* ABDALLAH KOUPROLI, BASHA *of* CARIO, *appointed generaliſſimo.*

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN retired with the remains of his army to HAMADAN: having been always accuſtomed to victory, he was the more ſenſibly affected by his defeat, eſpecially as there was reaſon to fear that his glory was nipped, at the very time when to appearance it was ripening to its full maturity. However, as no reverſe of fortune could ſubdue his mind, he ſeemed yet to triumph in the aſſurance of future ſucceſs; and the perfect knowledge he had, how dear the enemy had purchaſed their victory, and that the treacherous conduct of his ARABIAN allies had been the chief cauſe of the diſaſter which befel him; he encouraged his ſoldiers, applauded their conduct, and commended their valour, in the ſame flattering terms, as if he had been himſelf the victor. He acknowledged the miſtakes he had committed in terms the moſt engaging; being convinced that paſt misfortunes can be retrieved only by future conduct. He made his own and that of the army one common cauſe; and by reminding them of their valour upon ſo many occaſions, he aſſured them they ſhould have ſuch an opportunity of revenging themſelves, as ſhould intirely

1733. intirely efface the remembrance of an accident, for which they were no way to blame. Thus he ingratiated himſelf with the common ſoldiers, as well as the officers, in ſuch a manner, that he kept the army in good ſpirits, and without the leaſt reluctance to try their fortune in another battle.

As a proof of what he had advanced, he was hardly arrived at HAMADAN, when he wrote to ACHMED BASHA, the governor of BAGDAT, that notwithſtanding his misfortunes in the laſt campaign, he did not in the leaſt hold himſelf as vanquiſhed; that he was ſenſible of the faults he had committed, and intended to mend them: and as he was determined to make war like a generous enemy, therefore he acquainted him, that he might be prepared; for that early next year he would take the field with a more numerous and powerful army than the former, and meet him once more at BAGDAT.

How oſtentatious ſoever ſuch a meſſage might ſeem, it not only ſerved to keep his ſoldiers in ſpirits, but alſo as a ſtratagem to deceive the TURKS; for tho' they might deem ſuch menaces not entirely as an effect of his vanity, with regard to his intentions of returning into TURKEY, yet they did not dream that his real deſign was to fall on them before the winter came on. For this purpoſe he ſent to ISFAHAN for recruits, and commanded his ſecond ſon NESR ALI, the governor of HERAT, to join him with all the forces under his command. Thus he ſoon completed an army, very near equal to that with which he had made his late expedition into TURKEY.

ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, had too much penetration to be ignorant of the genius of the PERSIAN general, and too good intelligence to doubt of his intentions of returning into TURKEY; but whether that ſhould happen ſooner or later, he took all poſſible care to put the city in a ſtate of defence, and to bring a ſupply of proviſions by means of the TIGRIS, which he could not collect near his own diſtrict, the province for many leagues round BAGDAT having been laid waſte.

TOPAL OSMAN on his part was ſtill in want of ammunition and other neceſſaries for his army, and in no condition to act offenſively againſt

PERSIA: he therefore contented himſelf with ſending POULAK BASHA, 1733.
with ſix thouſand men, to take poſſeſſion of the paſs of TAKAJAK, which is the entrance into TURKEY on the ſide of HAMADAN.

Affairs were in this ſituation, when advice arrived at KERKOUD, that the ſon of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN was upon his march to the aſſiſtance of his father, with a large body of AFGHANS and ABDOLLEES. The SERASKIER diſpatched a courier to the port with this intelligence, repreſenting to the miniſters, as he had often done before, the neceſſity there was of ſending large ſupplies of men, money, and ammunition to the army *intended to act againſt* KOULI KHAN. He earneſtly requeſted at the ſame time, that in conſideration of his age and infirmities, they would allow him to reſign the command of the army in favour of ACHMED BASHA, who in all reſpects was fitter than himſelf to diſcharge the duties of ſuch an important truſt.

The grand ſignior, in conſideration of his requeſt, and his great ſervices, had actually determined to comply with his deſire, and appointed him BASHA of CUTAYA[c], and BEGLERBEG of NATOLIA. The diſpoſition for theſe changes was already made, when a freſh courier arrived at the ſeraglio from TOPAL OSMAN, with advice that the PERSIANS had forced the paſs of TAKAJAK, and that their general was in full march at the head of a mighty army; requeſting that they would immediately order the ſuccours, which he had ſo often and ſo warmly ſollicited.

An extraordinary divan was held upon this ſubject; the diſpoſition of thoſe changes juſt mentioned was ſuſpended, and TOPAL OSMAN ordered to continue in his command of the army.

POULAK BASHA had been ſent by the SERASKIER with 6000 men, to poſt himſelf at TAKAJAK, which is the paſs on the frontiers of TURKEY. Accordingly he took poſſeſſion of it with his troops. On the 12th of OCTOBER, KOULI KHAN'S AFGHANS advanced towards him: the BASHA having neglected to fortify his poſt, or ſtruck with a panic, retired with his men, and abandoned this important paſs to the enemy. The SERASKEIER was filled with ſuch indignation and reſentment, that he would have ordered his

[c] A diſtrict about three days journey from CONSTANTINOPLE.

1733. his head to be ſtruck off in the field, notwithſtanding he had behaved gallantly in the battle of KERKOUD, if ſeveral of the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers, who were in great eſteem with him, had not begged his life.

TOPAL OSMAN now found himſelf in a very dangerous ſituation; a fierce and formidable enemy was advancing on him, whilſt the ſuccours he had ſollicited from the port, he knew by experience, were not to be depended on: the BASHA of SYRIA was his particular friend, and exerted himſelf in collecting all the forces poſſible; but theſe were not ſufficient. SYRIA was once a powerful kingdom, and could of itſelf ſend large armies into the field; but ſince it has been under the dominion of the TURKS, it is ſo far ruined, that the BASHA could hardly collect 12000 infantry, with a ſmall body of horſe; neither of which had any reputation as ſoldiers. The SERASKIER had alſo collected ſeveral bodies of forces from MOSUL[f]; tho' the inhabitants had been ſo terrified at the approach of a PERSIAN army, that numbers were diſpoſed to flight, till they found themſelves ſurrounded by roving ARABS, and other enemies; they reſolved therefore to aſſiſt in the common cauſe of their country, and endeavour to withſtand the torrent of the PERSIAN arms. In the mean while, the garriſon of DIARBEKIR was alſo ſent to join TOPAL OSMAN, and ſome tribes of the ARABIANS, who had been of ſuch ſervice in the affair of KERKOUD.

The SERASKIER, in order to facilitate the junction of his forces, marched to the plains of ARONIA, near the city MENDELI, where he muſtered near 100,000 men; happy for the TURKS if they had been all equal in diſcipline and valour to the PERSIAN troops. Here the prudent TOPAL OSMAN entrenched his army in an advantageous ſituation, to prevent a ſurprize, and enable him to act as circumſtances might require.

TAHMAS KOULI KHAN being informed of the ſituation of the TURKS, marched directly towards them, and arrived within ſight of their army the

[f] This is a great city ſixty leagues above BAGDAT, and forty from DIARBEKIR, on the weſtern banks of the TIGRIS, it is ſuppoſed to be the antient NINEVEH, which at preſent is but a heap of undiſtinguiſhable ruins.

the 21ſt of OCTOBER. In the mean while, he ordered a detachment to make a circuit by the foreſt of NEZERETH, and by paſſing the TIGRIS intercept a rich caravan going for SMYRNA and ALEPPO, and then to join him near the plains of ARONIA, which they performed [e]. 1733.

On the 22d of OCTOBER, TOPAL OSMAN BASHA acquainted his officers, that he propoſed to keep in his trenches on the defenſive; but at the ſame time let his troops know, that ſuch as were diſpoſed, might ſkirmiſh with the enemy.

The Janiſſaries of CAIRO, and ſome troops of ROMANIA, who had not been in the battle of KERKOUD, thought their honour concerned to perform ſome ſignal action; and being joined by ſome other of the troops, and by the ARABS, whom the SERASKIER had taken into his pay, they ſallied from the entrenchments, and attacked the PERSIANS. The ſoil was dry and duſty to a great degree; the wind favoured the TURKS, and they took the proper advantage of it. They came to an engagement, or rather a ſkirmiſh, which laſted about four hours. The SERASKIER perceiving his men had the ſuperiority, gave orders for others to join them; this determined the fortune of the day; ſo that the PERSIANS retreated towards LEILAM, about five leagues from KERKOUD, leaving upon the ſpot near 4000 [h] men.

We are left a little in the dark, with regard to that engagement which went by the name of the battle of LEILAM; tho' this place, reported to be within five leagues of KERKOUD, muſt conſequently have been twenty or thirty leagues from the plains of ARONIA [i]. The PERSIAN general now prepared for a deciſive ſtroke: he had fought the firſt battle in his own name

[e] This was not the caravan which had been locked up in BAGDAT during the ſiege, as ſome account pretend. [h] Some make the loſs here much greater. It was repreſented at CONSTANTINOPLE as a ſecond victory, tho' the court was too prudent to rejoice. It ſeems to me to be little more than a ſkirmiſh previous to the fate of the OTTOMAN army; however, it is certain, that KOULI KHAN's army ſuffered on this occaſion. [i] We may reconcile the different accounts, by ſuppoſing it to be between both places, for the plains of ARONIA extend near LEILAM. The deſcription of battles properly belongs to ſoldiers, and few of theſe give us a good account of what paſſes at our very doors, ſo that we muſt ſuppoſe a great deal with regard to theſe remoter ſcenes more than is related.

1733. name as general; the ſecond was in the name of the young king SHAH ABAS III. Both theſe being unſucceſsful, the army began to be ſuperſtitious. KOULI KHAN therefore reſolved to make his deciſive blow in the name of SHAH TÆHMAS[k]. He choſe an advantageous ſituation to the eaſt, intending to make the attack early the next morning; and the ſun ſhining in the face of the enemy, he might receive from thence the advantage which the TURKS enjoyed four days before, with regard to the wind. At day break, the 26th of OCTOBER, he advanced at the head of 20,000 of his beſt troops, and fell upon the van-guard of the TURKISH army, which had made ſome approaches towards him: this attack was ſo well conducted, that in a ſhort time he pierced through this body of the TURKS. The battle then became general on both ſides. The TURKS began ſoon to give way, which put their army in ſome confuſion. TOPAL OSMAN was not wanting in the duties of a brave and experienced general; he brought his men up to the charge more than once, but the PERSIANS had the aſcendency, and repulſed them with great ſlaughter. The SERASKIER was fatigued with rallying his people, and perceiving the diſorder of his army, put himſelf at the head of the Janiſſaries, and diſputed the victory with as much bravery, as the importance of the occaſion could inſpire; till at length, two muſquet-balls pierced his body, and he dropt dead from his horſe.

Thus fell the brave TOPAL OSMAN, one of the greateſt ſtateſmen and generals, and a man of the moſt integrity, of any in the OTTOMAN empire. His fall determined the fate of the TURKISH army; thoſe who were near him were diſheartened, and no longer fought with the ſame ſpirit: moſt of theſe fell by the ſword, others fled, and the defeat became general. The PERSIANS purſued the vanquiſhed enemy, and made a great ſlaughter. KOULI KHAN immediately ſent his AFGHANS to intercept the flight of the ARABS, who had fought under TOPAL OSMAN; and, in remembrance of their perfidious conduct at the battle of KERKOUD, he cauſed great numbers of them to be put to the ſword.

The

[k] However extraordinary this may appear, the ſuperſtition of [illegible]iers might render it neceſſary; not ſo much out of [illegible]AH TÆHMAS, as to try their fortune under [illegible]ge which had been always lucky to TÆHMAS [illegible]I KHAN.

The TURKS loſt upon this occaſion all their baggage, artillery, with their military cheſt, and not leſs than 40,000 men, among whom were many BASHAS and perſons of diſtinction. A great number were taken priſoners, among theſe was the intendant[1] of the army, who informed TAHMAS KOULI KHAN of the fate of TOPAL OSMAN. Curioſity, as well as veneration for the character of this great man, induced the PERSIAN general to order that the body ſhould be brought to him: he ſtood ſome time in ſilence, and ſurveyed it with an awful reverence. TOPAL OSMAN was indeed the conqueror; tho' vanquiſhed, he triumphed. Being arrived to the age of ſeventy, he had finiſhed his courſe with glory, which it was hardly poſſible his enemy ſhould ever attain to; ſince the principles on which he ſet out, were diametrically oppoſite to thoſe of this good man. The PERSIAN general ordered the body to be ſent to BAGDAT with proper honour, that the remains of ſo brave an officer might receive the funeral-rites due to his rank, and the laſt homage of his countrymen, whoſe cauſe he had ever eſpouſed, with a true patriot zeal. 1733.

The news of the death of TOPAL OSMAN, with the intire defeat of the OTTOMAN army, aſtoniſhed the court, and the whole city of CONSTANTINOPLE. The ſucceſs at KERKOUD in JULY before, ſerved only to add to their ſenſibility of this misfortune: and from the opinion which had been entertained of the great loſs of the PERSIANS on that occaſion, they imagined KOULI KHAN to be a devil or enchanter, who could with ſo rapid a courſe reverſe his fortune.

The grand vizir, apprehenſive of ſome commotion in the city, cauſed guards to be placed at certain poſts to prevent an inſurrection. The divan aſſembled immediately. The grand ſignior and the mufti recommended a peace with PERSIA almoſt at any price, as the war ſeemed to tend to the ruin of the empire. The vizir on the other hand repreſented the PERSIANS as vincible, of which the battle of KERKOUD was a ſtanding memorial; and that to loſe the conquered provinces by the force of arms, would be leſs inglorious than tamely to yield them up to the PERSIANS.

[1] CHADOU CADI.

1733. This opinion being at length agreed to, preparations were made to send cannon and ammunition to ALEXANDRIA, also money for the payment of the army; and 8000 Janissaries were commanded to march the 15th of DECEMBER. ABDALLAH KOUPROLI, BASHA of CAIRO, was nominated as generalissimo, in the place of TOPAL OSMAN; and the several BASHAS in the TURKISH dominions in ASIA, had orders to march with all the forces they could collect.

CHAP. XII.

The education, and most remarkable incidents of the life of TOPAL OSMAN BASHA; *with a particular account of his gratitude and great generosity to his benefactor, who ransomed him in his youth from slavery.*

THE mention I have already made of a brave TURK, will sufficiently countenance the following story. It is an anecdote by no means below the dignity of an historian, nor foreign to my subject. The design of it is to instruct us by example, which is confessedly the great use of history: and I am persuaded this relation will give pleasure to every one who does not think gratitude a pious frenzy, or that it is a virtue fit only for little minds, whose weakness betrays them into a passion, which clashes with self-love, so much the idol of mankind.

TOPAL OSMAN was educated in the chambers of the seraglio[m]; a method which was formerly used only with the children of the tribute, and who were all of christian parents. In the year 1698, being then about the

[m] There are different chambers of the seraglio through which those children passed, who were formerly sent up from the CHRISTIAN provinces subjected to the OTTOMAN empire. They went from the last chamber into the service of the sultan, and were employed in the different offices of the court and ministry. According to their conduct or fortune, they rose to the several posts and offices of the empire. The policy of this was, that not knowing their parents and relations, and oftentimes ignorant of the very country they came from, they might be the more absolutely dependant and devoted to the service of the grand signior. But now the TURKS have found means to have their own children educated in the seraglio; and the chambers in which those designed for employments are bred, and from which they are taken, do mostly consist of native TURKS.

the age of twenty-five, he was ſent with the ſultan's orders to the BASHA of CAIRO. He travelled by land to SAID [n], and being afraid of the ARABS who rove about the adjacent countries, plundering paſſengers and caravans, he embarked on board a TURKISH veſſel bound to DAMIETTA, a city on the eaſtermoſt channel of the NILE. In this ſhort paſſage they met with a SPANISH privateer: their ſhip was no match for her, but the whole crew reſolved to fight, and try to preſerve their effects, and defend themſelves from ſlavery; upon which a bloody action enſued. There it was this great man gave the firſt proofs of that intrepidity, by which he ſo often ſignalized himſelf afterwards. The crew, animated by his example, fought with great bravery; but ſuperior numbers at laſt prevailed, and OSMAN was taken priſoner, after being dangerouſly wounded in his arm and thigh. 1733.

When the veſſel had ſurrendered, the inſtances of bravery which OSMAN had ſhewn, induced the SPANISH captain to pay him a particular regard, eſpecially when it was known that he was charged with the grand ſignior's orders, and that conſequently a large ranſom might be expected for him. Notwithſtanding the good treatment he received, his wounds were ſtill in a dangerous way, when he arrived at MALTA, whither the privateer went to refit: the wound in his thigh was the moſt dangerous, and he was lame of it ever afterwards; from which he had the name of TOPAL or cripple, as already mentioned.

At that time, VINCENT ARNAUD, a native of MARSEILLES, was commander of the port at MALTA; and, as his buſineſs required, went on board the privateer as ſoon as ſhe came to anchor. OSMAN no ſooner ſaw ARNAUD, than he ſaid to him; "Can you do a generous and gal-"lant action? Ranſom me, and take my word you ſhall loſe nothing by "it." Such a requeſt from a ſlave in chains was not common; but the manner in which it was delivered, ſtruck the FRENCHMAN ſo much, that he immediately turned to the captain of the privateer, and aſked what he demanded for the ranſom. He anſwered, a thouſand ſequins [o]. ARNAUD upon this turning round to the TURK, ſaid: "I know nothing of you, "and

[n] The antient SIDON in SYRIA.

1733. " and would you have me riſque a thouſand ſequins on your bare word?" " Each of us act in this," replied the TURK, " with conſiſtency. I am " in chains, and therefore try every method to recover my liberty; and " you may act right in not truſting to the word of a ſtranger; I have " nothing at preſent but my word and honour to give you, nor do I " pretend to aſſign any reaſon why you ſhould truſt to it; however, I " tell you once more, if you do truſt to it, you ſhall have no occaſion to " repent." The commander upon this went to make his report to the grand maſter, DON PERELLOS. The air with which OSMAN delivered himſelf, and the ſeeming ingenuouſneſs, together with the ſingularity of the circumſtances, wrought ſuch an effect upon ARNAUD, that he returned immediately on board the SPANISH veſſel, and agreed with the captain for ſix hundred ſequins, which he paid as the price of OSMAN's liberty. After this, he put him on board a veſſel of his own, where he provided him with a ſurgeon, and every thing neceſſary for his entertainment and cure. In a ſhort time he was out of danger.

OSMAN had mentioned to his benefactor, that he might write to CONSTANTINOPLE for the money he had advanced; but finding himſelf in the hands of a man who had truſted ſo much to his honour, he was emboldened to aſk him another favour, which was to leave the payment of the ranſom entirely to him. ARNAUD diſtinguiſhed that in ſuch a caſe things were not to be done by halves; he therefore not only agreed to the propoſal, with a good grace, but entruſted him with the ſhip, in which he had been lodged, and ſhewed him every other mark of generoſity and friendſhip. Accordingly OSMAN, as ſoon as he was in a condition, ſet out again upon his voyage in this veſſel.

The FRENCH colours now protected him from the privateers. In a ſhort time he reached DAMIETTA, and ſailed up the NILE to CAIRO. No ſooner was he arrived there, than he delivered a thouſand ſequins to the maſter of the veſſel, to be paid his benefactor ARNAUD, together with ſome rich furrs*, and five hundred crowns as a preſent for himſelf. He executed the orders of the ſultan his maſter with the BASHA of CAIRO; and

3

* Theſe are the genteeleſt preſents in the eaſt.

and ſetting out for CONSTANTINOPLE, was himſelf the firſt who brought 1733.
the news of his ſlavery.

His ſenſe of the favour that had been done to him, and the generous circumſtances of it, was not confined to the firſt emotions of gratitude: during the whole courſe of his life, he did not ceaſe, by letters and other acknowledgments, to teſtify the deep impreſſion it had made upon him.

In 1715 war was declared between the VENETIANS and TURKS. The grand vizir, who had projected the invaſion of the MOREA, aſſembled the OTTOMAN army, near the iſthmus of CORINTH, the only paſs by which this peninſula can be attacked by land. TOPAL OSMAN was charged with the command to force the paſs, which he not only executed with great ſucceſs, but afterwards took the city of CORINTH by aſſault. For this ſervice he was rewarded, by being made a BASHA of two tails. The next year he ſerved as lieutenant-general under the grand vizir at the ſiege of CORFU, which the TURKS were obliged to abandon. OSMAN ſtaid three days before the place to ſecure and conduct the retreat of the OTTOMAN troops, which he effected with great ſucceſs.

In 1722 he was appointed SERASKIER [q], and had the command of the army in the MOREA. When the conſuls of the different nations came to pay their reſpects to him in this quality, he diſtinguiſhed the FRENCH by particular marks of kindneſs and protection, and gave them a ſtrict charge to write to MALTA to VINCENT ARNAUD, and acquaint him of his new dignity, and to beg of him to ſend his ſon, that as it was now in his power, he would charge himſelf with making his fortune. Accordingly ARNAUD's ſon went into the MOREA, and the SERASKIER not only made him preſents, but granted him privileges and advantages in point of trade, which ſoon put him in a way of acquiring an eſtate [r].

TOPAL OSMAN's parts and abilities were ſuch, that from this command he was ſoon raiſed to a greater. He was made a BASHA of three tails, and BEGLERBEG of ROMANIA, one of the greateſt governments in

[q] General in chief.

[r] It may be obſerved in general, when men of eminent rank intend to do a diſtinguiſhed ſervice, they are not behind the Chriſtians.

1733. in the empire, and which the vicinity to the DANUBIAN provinces, and the frontiers of HUNGARY, renders ſtill more important.

His reſidence, during his government, was at NYSSA. In the year 1727, VINCENT ARNAUD and his ſon waited upon him there, and were received with the utmoſt tenderneſs and affection. Laying aſide the pomp of the BASHA and governor, he embraced them, ordered them to be ſerved with ſherbet and perfume, and to ſit upon the ſofa with himſelf; an honour but rarely beſtowed by a BASHA of the firſt order, and hardly ever to a chriſtian. After theſe marks of diſtinction, he ſent them away loaded with preſents. As the father and ſon were taking their leave of him, ARNAUD ſaid, he hoped he ſhould live to pay his duty to him, as grand vizir, at CONSTANTINOPLE. This, which was then only a compliment, proved prophetical.

I have already given an account of the great revolution of 1730 in CONSTANTINOPLE, in which the grand vizir IBRAHIM periſhed. This office was become ſo perilous, that three had been preferred to it in leſs than a year's time. In SEPTEMBER 1731, TOPAL OSMAN was called from his government, to fill a place, which though by far the higheſt in the OTTOMAN empire, and perhaps the higheſt that any ſubject in the world enjoys, is always dangerous, and was then ſo in a particular degree. He no ſooner arrived at CONSTANTINOPLE to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity, than he ſent for the FRENCH embaſſador, and deſired him to write to MALTA, and let his old benefactor know of his advancement; and that he ſhould haſten to CONSTANTINOPLE, while things remained in the preſent ſituation; adding, that a grand vizir ſeldom kept long in his ſtation.

In the month of JANUARY 1732, ARNAUD with his ſon arrived at CONSTANTINOPLE from MALTA, bringing with him variety of preſents, and twelve TURKS whom he had ranſomed from ſlavery. Theſe, by command of the vizir, were ranged in order before him. VINCENT ARNAUD, now ſeventy-two years of age, with his ſon, were brought before TOPAL OSMAN, grand vizir of the OTTOMAN empire. He received them in the preſence of the great officers of ſtate with the utmoſt marks

of affection. Then turning to thoſe about him, and pointing to the ranſomed TURKS, " Behold," ſays he, " theſe your brethren now enjoying " the ſweets of liberty, after having groaned in ſlavery: this FRENCH- " MAN is their deliverer. I was myſelf a ſlave, loaded with chains, " ſtreaming in blood, and covered with wounds: this is the man who " redeemed and ſaved me; this is my maſter and benefactor: to him I " am indebted for life, liberty, fortune, and every thing I enjoy. With- " out knowing me, he paid for me a large ranſom; ſent me away upon " my bare word, and gave me a ſhip to carry me where I pleaſed. " Where is even a muſſulman capable of an action of ſuch generoſity?" 1733.

While OSMAN was ſpeaking, every one preſent had their eyes fixed upon old ARNAUD, who held the grand vizir's hands cloſely locked between his own. The vizir then aſked both father and ſon many queſtions concerning their ſituation and fortune, heard their anſwers with kindneſs and attention, and then ended with an ARABIC ſentence, ALLAH-KERIM[s]. He made before them the diſtribution of the preſents they had brought, the greateſt part of which he ſent to the ſultan, the ſultana mother, and the KISLAR AGA[t]. Upon which the two FRENCHMEN made their obeiſance, and retired.

After this ceremony was over, the ſon of the grand vizir took them to his apartments, where he treated them with great kindneſs. Some time before they left CONSTANTINOPLE, they had a conference in private with the vizir, who diveſted himſelf of all ſtate and ceremony. He let them underſtand, that the nature of his ſituation would not permit him to do as he deſired, ſince a miniſter ever appears in the eyes of many to do nothing without a view to his own particular intereſt; adding, that a BASHA was lord and maſter in his own province, but that the grand vizir at CONSTANTINOPLE had a maſter greater than himſelf.

He cauſed them to be amply paid for the ranſom of the TURKS, and likewiſe procured the reſtitution of a debt, which they had looked on as deſperate: he alſo made them preſents in money, and gave them an order,

[s] The providence of GOD is great. [t] Chief of the black eunuchs.

1733. order, in virtue of which they took a loading of corn at SALONICA, which was likely to be very profitable, as the exportation of corn from that port had been for a long time prohibited.

As his gratitude was without bounds, he ſeemed deſirous to convince his benefactor, that his liberality was the ſame; his behaviour, upon this occaſion, muſt appear great and noble, ſince every action of his life demonſtrates a mind ſuperior to affectation. His conduct appears the more generous, when it is conſidered, what contempt and averſion the prejudices of education often create in the mind of a TURK againſt the chriſtians: and if we reflect further, that this confeſſion was made before his whole court, the action will appear in its full luſtre.

By the vigilance and ſteadineſs of his miniſtry, this great man reſtored government and a regular diſcipline, with plenty to CONSTANTINOPLE, where a licentious confuſion had ſo lately reigned, and where the inhabitants had been in ſuch diſtreſs, that the neceſſaries of life were not to be had but at an exceſſive price. He has indeed been blamed for his too great ſeverity; but it is certain, that he never condemned to death the moſt culpable, even of the loweſt claſs of the people, without the deciſion of the mufti. And though his ſeverity ſhould have been extended to what might be deemed an exceſs, reaſons of ſtate, and the ſecurity of the general tranquillity of the empire, might make a ſtrict execution of the laws not only expedient, but abſolutely neceſſary. Nor can it be ſuppoſed, that a man, whoſe honour and goodneſs of heart was ſo conſpicuouſly diſplayed, could be cruel. The greateſt proof that can be given to clear him of ſuch an imputation, is the univerſal regret that people of all ranks ſhewed when he was removed from his office [a].

He received his orders of diſmiſſion with all the calmneſs imaginable; for he was too wiſe to expect that virtue alone could ſupport a man in an office under a diſtracted government, and where change was adopted as neceſſary. When he came out of the ſeraglio, after delivering up the ſeal of the empire, he found his friends and domeſtics very penſive and diſconſolate. "What is the reaſon," ſays he, "of your affliction; have "I

[a] 10 MARCH 1732.

" I not always ſaid, that the office of vizir is of all others the moſt likely 1733.
" to be ſhort? All my concern was, how I ſhould get out of it with ho
" nour; and thanks to GOD, I have done nothing with which I reproach
" myſelf. My maſter, the grand ſignior, approves my ſervices, and I reſign
" with perfect ſatisfaction." He then gave orders for rendering his thanks to heaven, as if it had been one of the moſt happy events of his life [w].

After this, he immediately ſet out for TREBISONDE, where he was appointed BASHA. His removal could not be called a diſgrace, for the grand ſignior never ceaſed to treat him with all poſſible marks of diſtinction. His highneſs acquainted him, that he muſt leave his ſon at CONSTANTINOPLE, and that himſelf would take care of his fortune. About four days after TOPAL OSMAN's departure, this young man had the honour of delivering to the ſultan, the preſent [x] which his father was to have made him on the feaſt of BAYRAM [y]. Preſents at the OTTOMAN court, as well as all over the eaſt, are not conſidered as the effects of generoſity and friendſhip, or marks of reſpect, but as a tribute which muſt be paid by inferiors of all ranks to their ſuperiors, eſpecially from certain officers to their ſovereign. This preſent might however have been diſpenſed with, as the father was out of the office of grand vizir; but he gave his ſon expreſs orders at his departure, not to fail to make it; and by that means, he ſhewed with what entire ſatisfaction he had reſigned his high employment.

The grand ſignior received the preſent, in a manner that convinced him and all the world, that he had not in the leaſt forfeited his eſteem. He had been gone but a few days, when orders were ſent to him to repair to the frontiers of PERSIA, and take upon him the command of the OTTOMAN armies. This was an honourable and important ſtation, but full of danger and difficulty. He filled it with all the abilities of a wiſe ſtateſman and experienced officer. Though he ſunk at laſt before the fortune of TAHMAS KOULI KHAN, yet he fell worthy of himſelf; worthy

[w] A rare inſtance this of virtue. I hope it is ſtrictly true. I am *ſorry* to ſay it is not more credible of a chriſtian than of a MAHOMMEDAN. See Vol. I. page 198. [x] A horſe-furniture ſet with jewels, value 50,000 crowns. [y] This is a high feſtival among the TURKS, at which time it is uſual to make preſents to one another.

1733. of that character he had ſo deſervedly acquired, and maintained through the courſe of a life, not diſtinguiſhed ſo much by his high employments, as that he never deviated from the paths of honour and virtue.

The grand ſignior preſerved ſuch an eſteem for his memory, that tho' his ſon ACHMED was but young, he promoted him to the high poſt of BASHA and BEGLERBEG of ROMANIA, which his father enjoyed when he was called to the office of grand vizir. It gives us the ſtrongeſt idea of arbitrary power, to conſider the policy of the OTTOMAN government. The ſame grand ſignior, who promoted the ſon to one of the firſt dignities of the empire, in honour to the father's memory and great ſervices, ſent an order to ſeize all the father's effects [a]. It may be preſumed the ſtate was poor, which in ſuch governments was a ſufficient reaſon. Thus the ſon ſucceeded to no great part of the vaſt riches his father died poſſeſſed of.

TOPAL OSMAN was one of thoſe few, who through the courſe of a long life, gave the higheſt demonſtrations of a mind ſuperior to vulgar applauſe. His greatneſs was the effect of his virtue, his underſtanding and intrepidity; but his ambition was to act like a man, who believes there is a GOD, and a ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. If this generous TURK ſaid of VINCENT ARNAUD, "Where is even a muſſulman who is "capable of an action of ſuch generoſity?" We may ſay, "Where ſhall "we find even a chriſtian, requiting a generous action in a more noble "manner than TOPAL OSMAN?" Inſtances of this kind among either chriſtians or MAHOMMEDANS, are indeed but rare; and therefore when they happen, ought the more to be recorded.

[a] This is meant of his moveable or perſonal eſtate. As to landed eſtates, it is a cuſtom for perſons in the ſervice of the grand ſignior, to aſſign them in heritage to the church, in caſe of the failure of heirs, by which means they cannot be ſeized by the crown, without a degree of ſacrilege.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN *acquaints the* RUSSIAN *court of his ſucceſs.* ACHMED BASHA *prepares to ſtand another ſiege.* MAHOMMED KHAN BALOUCHE *declares for* TÆHMAS SHAH *at* SHIRASS; *is defeated by* KOULI KHAN, *and hangs himſelf. The* TURKS *prepare to take the field.* KOULI KHAN *marches into* GEORGIA *the beginning of* 1734, *and takes* TEFLIS. *Deſcription of that country.* SELIM BASHA *retires out of* GEORGIA. KOULI KHAN *takes* GANJA *and* SHAMAKIE.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN having obtained this memorable victory over the TURKS, and given orders for the burial of his dead, diſpatched an expreſs to acquaint the RUSSIAN empreſs of the ſignal advantage he had obtained. This news was not ungrateful to the court of ST. PETERSBURG: the port was divided into factions upon the ſubject of a war with RUSSIA; but it was apprehended, if KOULI KHAN had not kept them fully employed, they would have ſoon determined upon it: and preparations were accordingly making in RUSSIA. 1733.

It is preſumed, that KOULI KHAN requeſted that the empreſs would not permit the CRIM TARTARS to paſs near her dominions, ſhould they attempt to join the LESGES, who waited only a favourable occaſion of making a powerful diverſion in SHIRVAN and other places, near the coaſt of the CASPIAN SEA. The RUSSIANS, yet poſſeſſed of DERBEND, and the conqueſt they had made on that coaſt; were not intereſted to countenance the projects of KOULI KHAN, any otherwiſe than to reduce the TURKS, which was a much greater object than the preſervation of that conqueſt.

So ſignal an advantage gained over the TURKS, within fifty leagues of BAGDAT, could not but alarm ACHMED BASHA. We have already obſerved, that this ſagacious governor had put his city in a condition of defence, and preſerved a kind of independent ſovereignty. After the battle of KERKOUD, ſeveral detachments of TOPAL OSMAN's forces demanded entrance into the city. The BASHA abſolutely refuſed, alledging, that they

1733. they were ſent to protect the city, but not to come into it: that he had a ſufficient garriſon of his own, and therefore would not admit them. He was now in a better condition of defence than he had been in APRIL before, and had made a larger collection of proviſion. Beſides his own artillery, he was alſo maſter of that which the PERSIANS had left behind them. Under theſe circumſtances, tho' he had but ill grounds to expect any relief from the TURKISH armies for a conſiderable time, he determined to make a gallant defence.

Winter was now approaching, and it might be expected that the banks of the TIGRIS would ſwell as is uſual in that ſeaſon, ſo as to render the approaches to BAGDAT difficult, if not impracticable. However, KOULI KHAN advanced towards the city, to try if he could obtain the ſubmiſſion of ACHMED BASHA, for whom he profeſſed a particular friendſhip, as a man of excellent underſtanding, and a good ſoldier. The teſtimony which he ever gave of the BASHA was, "That he was much a greater "man than himſelf, or the grand ſignior; becauſe," ſays he, "ACHMED "BASHA has ſupported himſelf in BAGDAT, without giving up the place "either to me or his maſter."

Whilſt the PERSIAN general was thus meditating in what manner he ſhould conduct himſelf, news arrived from SHIRASS, that MAHOMMED KHAN BALOUCHE*, one of his generals, whom he had ſent to raiſe recruits in that quarter of the empire, had joined SEFFIE MAHOMMED KHAN, governor of the province: that they in conjunction with each other had collected an army of 30,000 men, and proclaimed SHAH TÆHMAS as their lawful king. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN no ſooner received this notice, than he marched back into PERSIA. He took with him about 30,000 of his beſt troops, and proceeded with the utmoſt expedition by the rout of ISPAHAN towards SHIRASS. Thoſe of his men, whoſe horſes failed, or by any accident could not keep pace in his continued forced marches, he left upon the road; ſo that he arrived at SHIRASS at a time, when his enemies had hardly received news of his leaving TURKEY.

Upon

* This KHAN is diſtinguiſhed as a native of the country of the BALOUCHES.

Upon the firſt report of the advance of the troops of KOULI KHAN, 1733.
MAHOMMED KHAN BALOUCHE, who imagined it was only a ſmall detachment under the command of one of the officers of this general, marched out to attack them. In a ſhort time he fell in with the van-guard of KOULI KHAN, conſiſting of 12,000 men, himſelf at their head. MAHOMMED KHAN BALOUCHE now expreſſed great ſatisfaction, as if fortune had delivered the tyrant-general into his hands. He imagined the greateſt part of his forces were not yet come up; but he ſoon found his miſtake. When KOULI KHAN began to give his orders for the attack, the thunder of his voice, which was remarkably ſtrong, ſtruck a panic into MAHOMMED's men, and they hardly ſtood the firſt fire.

MAHOMMED KHAN BALOUCHE had often given proofs of his valour, and was diſtinguiſhed for many other good qualities. Enraged at the cowardice of his ſoldiers, he grew deſperate; and, attended by a few followers, ſingled out KOULI KHAN, and rode towards him, to try if the fortune of his lance could reach the heart of a man, whom he knew to be falſe, an enemy to his lawful ſovereign, and a ſlave to his ambition.

This attempt, if we may judge from the character of the man, was directed more by principles of generoſity and national honour, than by envy or ambition. It did not ſucceed: however, he made his part ſo good, that he fought his way back again; and retiring near BENDER DELEM, he embarked in an ARABIAN veſſel, intending to make his eſcape. The treacherous ARABS, who navigated the veſſel, diſcovering who he was, in expectation of a reward, brought him to SHIRASS, and delivered him to his enemy. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN ſent him to priſon, deſigning to extort a confeſſion of his accomplices, and alſo of his riches, which were ſuppoſed to be very conſiderable. Suicide can in no inſtance be deemed warrantable, otherwiſe we might call it intrepidity to baffle the deſigns of ſuch an enemy as KOULI KHAN. The unfortunate captive general was no ſooner left alone, than he hanged himſelf.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN having chaſtiſed the inhabitants of SHIRASS and put thoſe to death who attempted to reſtore SHAH TÆHMAS, he enriched

1734. riched himſelf with their ſequeſtered eſtates, and returned to ISFAHAN. Here he remained till the next ſpring, employing himſelf in recruiting his army in hopes of finiſhing the great work in which he had ſo well ſucceeded the laſt year, and of compelling the TURKS to yield up all the conquered provinces.

In the mean while, the OTTOMAN court made all the preparations poſſible, to defend themſelves againſt an enemy, whom they had now ſufficient reaſon to believe very formidable. They had made an attempt to engage the KHAN of the CRIM TARTARS in their quarrel, and if theſe could have been joined with the LESGEES, they might make a powerful diverſion in SHIRVAN; but it is hardly practicable to penetrate into PERSIA through the paſſes of mount CAUCASUS, or the country to the north-weſt of DAGISTAN.

The LESGEES, however diſpoſed to take all advantages of the PERSIANS, were but ill-inclined to favour the entrance of the CRIM TARTARS on the north-ſide of their mountainous reſidences. The GEORGIANS were as little diſpoſed to receive them into their country; and the RUSSIANS leaſt of all. The CABARDINIAN TARTARS, who are ſubject to RUSSIA, were ordered to appear in arms, if thoſe of the CRIM ſhould attempt to force a paſſage; and as a war was expected to break out with the RUSSIANS, the CRIM TARTARS would by this means be left expoſed; ſo that the TURKS had but little reaſon to expect any ſuccours in the PERSIAN war from thoſe TARTARS. The LESGEES, however, appeared *in arms*, deſigning to make a diverſion in favour of the TURKS.

KOULI KHAN having recruited his army to near 100,000 fighting men, opened the campaign this year by marching directly to TAVRIS, from whence he ſent his ſon NESR ALI, with a body of forces to the banks of the KURA, to drive the LESGEES back again into their mountains. Theſe TARTARS made incurſions into SHIRVAN, but finding a numerous body of PERSIAN forces which they did not expect, they retired with great precipitation. He left his ſon on the banks of the KURA, with orders to march to GANJA, whilſt he himſelf penetrated into GEORGIA as far as TEFLIS.

This

This city is ſuppoſed to be the ACROPOLIS of the antients; it is large and well peopled, and the houſes built with brick. In the center is an eminence with a citadel, very difficult of acceſs: at the foot of it runs the KURA, which contributes much to its natural ſtrength. 1734.

The GEORGIANS are the deſcendants of the antient IBERIANS, who inhabited the countries on both ſides the CYRUS[b]. The GREEKS call them GEORGI, from whence we may preſume they derived their preſent name; the oriental nations call this country GUERGESTAN.

The bravery of theſe people is very remarkable; their ſituation ſeems to exact it of them. In theſe latter times we have had ſeveral proofs, particularly of thoſe commanded by GURGHIN KHAN, the governor of KANDAHAR, as mentioned in the preceding volume. The VALI of GEORGIA, we have alſo ſeen, might, to all human appearance, have ſaved the PERSIAN monarchy, had he not adhered to a raſh vow. Theſe people are as dextrous with the bow and arrow, as with fire-arms; and the PERSIANS were wont to eſteem them the beſt troops in their army. They were now tributary to the TURKS, and conſequently few if any of them amongſt NADIR's forces. That they were always very warlike, appears from antient hiſtorians; they neither ſubmitted to the MEDES nor PERSIANS, nor even to ALEXANDER the GREAT: they could not indeed reſiſt the ROMAN arms; POMPEY took their capital ACROPOLIS, and reduced the kingdom of IBERIA to a ROMAN province.

The KHAN of TEFLIS has the title of VALI, and all the other chiefs of the reſpective provinces are denominated princes. Theſe laſt are independent of each other, as well as of the VALI; but in caſe of danger they unite in one common intereſt. Hemmed in by two powerful nations, they have neceſſarily paid tribute either to the TURKS or PERSIANS for ſome ages. Their governments are hereditary, and ſeldom any accidents have happened to diveſt their families of their reſpective ſovereignties; which are in number about a dozen, who are divided and ſubdivided. They generally

[b] Preſent name KURA.

1734. generally support from 200 to 1000 men each, and two or three of them can bring 6000 into the field. For the support of these soldiers, the peasants pay a tenth of the produce of the land; besides furnishing, in time of war, a certain number of men equipped.

The climate of this country is soft, not very different from that of ITALY, and extends from about the latitude of 41 to 44. The capital TEFLIS is near the center of the lower GEORGIA; the upper GEORGIA stretches towards the BLACK SEA. It is surrounded with mountains almost on every side, and abounds in woods, but there are also very fertile plains. They till their land with buffaloes and oxen; they plow deep, and their crops are abundant. They are christians of the GREEK religion, and consequently not forbidden the use of wine, which they have very good, and in great plenty. The men are remarkably tall, comely, robust, and well made, ostentatious, and fond of a splendid appearance; the women [c] are celebrated for their beauty over all ASIA.

The GEORGIANS have generally been most disposed to submit to the PERSIANS, and in order to support their fidelity, the sovereigns of that monarchy have shewn them great indulgence. Those of their princes, who are disposed to change their religion, have ever met with a kind reception at the PERSIAN court, and been entrusted with some of the first employments in that government. PERSIA by this means has had a constant resource of troops, whose valour and fidelity might be safely relied on [d].

The GEORGIANS now saw their sovereign the grand signior oppressed on every side; disheartened by the defeat of TOPAL OSMAN, and in no capacity to make head against the victorious armies of KOULI KHAN. TEFLIS having submitted to him, he thought it his interest to treat the people with tenderness. The TURKS retired, not being in any condition to oppose him.

KOULI

[c] These are often spoken of in EUROPE under the name of CIRCASSIANS, though CIRCASSIA is much farther to the north-west.

[d] I never heard, from any good authority, that KOULI KHAN had any number of GEORGIANS in his army, probably esteeming it impolitic to entertain people of so different principles in religion.

KOULI KHAN, in the exultation of his heart, declared that he would carry his victorious arms to the HELLESPONT, with a more formidable power than that of XERXES. All the dominions of the grand signior did indeed tremble at his name. The TURKS confessed, that they were never more embarassed since the establishment of their monarchy. Their treasures were exhausted; and their army of veterans hardly amounted to one third part of that of the PERSIANS. Count BONNEVAL recommended the EUROPEAN discipline; but the TURKS had a superstitious reverence for their antient military customs; neither could they derive any advantage from a change of *discipline*, but by long practice. They raised about 15000 men in BOSNIA, which were ordered to join the OTTOMAN army near BAGDAT, under the command of the SERASKIER ABDALLAH KOUPROLI, who was esteemed one of the best officers in their service. The court also sent 4000 men to him by the way of TREBISONDE; but this reinforcement was very insufficient to stop the progress of the PERSIANS. 1734.

In the mean while, SELIM BASHA being in no condition to oppose the PERSIANS, had retired out of GEORGIA towards ALEPPO, leaving that country, as well as ARMENIA, a prey to the victorious KOULI KHAN; upon which all the GEORGIAN princes, who were before tributary to the OTTOMAN empire, submitted to him. Towards the end of OCTOBER, he came before GANJA, where the TURKS had thrown in a garrison of 5000 men; these maintained themselves so well, that NESR ALI with his forces had not been able to reduce them: KOULI KHAN therefore erected three batteries of ten cannon each, and before the month was expired, this place also submitted at discretion.

From thence he directed his course to SHAMAKIE. The TURKS had detached a body of 6000 men, mostly LESGEES, to guard the bridge of boats over the KURA at JAVAT; but they were soon put to flight. The countenance which this city had given to the LESGEES, had so much offended him, that he resolved to raze it to the ground, and slaughter a great part of the inhabitants. Those who had offended most, being either LESGEES, or closely connected with them, fled into the mountains. After a short warning he commanded the inhabitants, who escaped the

1734. fury of his reſentment, to retire to AGHSDN, on the weſtern ſide of the mountains *, where they might build a new city; and he then deſtroyed the place. SHAMAKIE had been for many ages eſteemed one of the moſt flouriſhing cities in this part of the world, well peopled, and abounding in all the neceſſaries of life. Its ſituation was agreeable, and its trade extenſive. Here the merchants from PERSIA and TURKEY, ARMENIA, GEORGIA and RUSSIA had their rendezvous; ſo that it was a ſtaple for all the commodities of theſe countries, together with thoſe of EUROPE. It was alſo a place of defence.

Theſe however were not ſufficient reaſons with the ambitious KOULI KHAN to preſerve this city. Indeed, it is hard to ſay, if he made a ſacrifice of it to his pride or reſentment, more than to reaſons of policy. The conqueſt of the LESGEES was an object he had very much at heart; and experience had proved, that it was an aſylum to them of late years; or at leaſt, that it was the ſeat of rebellion, from whence SHIRVAN was invaded.

CHAP. XIV.

The TURKS *deſire a peace.* KOULI KHAN *ſends an embaſſador to the* RUSSIAN *court.* ABDALLAH KOUPROLI *gives battle to* KOULI KHAN *in the valley of* ARPAKAVI, *and is ſlain, together with* 20,000 TURKS. ABDALLAH BASHA *retreats to* CARS. CARA ACHMED *appointed* SERASKIER *of the* TURKISH *army.* ERIVAN *taken. The* TURKS *declare war againſt the* RUSSIANS. KOULI KHAN's *conduct towards that nation.*

THE rapid progreſs of the PERSIAN arms, made the divan of CONSTANTINOPLE in the higheſt degree deſirous of peace with PERSIA: but TAHMAS KOULI KHAN, ambitious of new triumphs, proudly deſpiſed any accommodation, but what was judged to be very injurious to the honour of the grand ſignior. The inclination of the port was to commence a war with the chriſtian powers; and great magazines were forming

* This place ſtood in 1746, as deſcribed in the map and account of the traſt of the RUSSIAN embaſſy, Vol. I. page 376 [illegible]56.

forming in BOSNIA, in expectation of a favourable opportunity to enter thro' 1734.
VALACHIA into the UKRAIN. The OTTOMAN court was alſo very jealous of the good underſtanding between the RUSSIANS and the PERSIANS, and apprehended a treaty of alliance, by which the former were to make a diverſion in favour of PERSIA on the ſide of ASOPH; whilſt there was not leſs reaſon to apprehend, that with ſuch aſſiſtance TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN might carry his arms into NATOLIA, and make the grand ſignior tremble on his throne.

What favoured the former opinion, was the arrival, at the beginning 1735.
of this year, of HUSSEIN KOULI KHAN as embaſſador from ABAS, the infant SHAH of PERSIA, to the court of ST. PETERSBURG; his credential letters were ſigned with the ſeal of the general TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN. This miniſter informed her imperial majeſty, that TÆHMAS SHAH being a weak prince, whoſe conduct threatened the ruin of the PERSIAN empire, the khans, and all the great lords of the ſtate, had determined to depoſe him, and ſet up his ſon ABAS in his place: that they meant not to do the dethroned prince any harm, but to indulge him in all the pleaſures to which he was inclined, without ſubmitting to his pacific diſpoſition, with regard to their common enemy the TURK: that TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, whoſe valour and fortune was equal to that of ALEXANDER, and whoſe prudence and generoſity were unrivalled, was determined to proſecute the war with vigour: that her imperial majeſty might be aſſured he would never lay down his arms, whilſt the grand ſignior was in any condition to make war againſt her; the PERSIANS being intirely diſpoſed to ſupport a perfect amity with the dominions of her imperial majeſty, whoſe intereſt they conſidered in common with their own.

This embaſſador was alſo charged with a commiſſion, to require the delivery of DERBEND, BAKU, RESHD, and all the places in the provinces of SHIRVAN and GHILAN, with the other diſtricts ſituated on the coaſt of the CASPIAN SEA, which had been conquered by PETER the GREAT; alſo that thoſe TARTARS in the mountains of DAGISTAN[f], who had ſubmitted

[f] I have already given ſome account of theſe people in my firſt volume, and I have only to obſerve further, that from the vicinity the ALANS in the fifth century are ſaid to have ſpread themſelves like a flood over EUROPE, extending their conqueſt as far as SPAIN.

1735. ſubmitted to the RUSSIAN arms, ſhould be again reſtored to the dominion of PERSIA.

It was ſaid, that KOULI KHAN had in the vanity of his heart declared, that if the RUSSIANS did not retire, he would take a broom, and ſweep them out. The RUSSIANS, apprehenſive of a war with the TURKS, did not think thoſe countries worth a conteſt: they had never received any benefit from them, but quite the reverſe, for they only proved a grave to their armies. As to the revenues of thoſe provinces ſince the year 1722, which were alſo demanded by the embaſſador, the RUSSIAN miniſtry alledged, that ſo far from drawing any advantage from thence, the government had been at a great expence in the ſupport of them.

In conſequence of this treaty now made with TAHMAS KOULI KHAN, her imperial majeſty appointed a general officer to accompany the PERSIAN commiſſaries, in order to ſee the evacution of the countries already mentioned, and to fix the boundaries of the two ſtates; which was accordingly done ſoon after. The embaſſador having received all the honours due to his character, took his leave of the empreſs the 13th of MARCH; and the court bore the expence of his journey to the frontiers, according to cuſtom. The empreſs intended to ſend an embaſſador to ISFAHAN, to compliment the young SHAH[g]; and from thence to proceed to the army, in order to finiſh the negotiations with TAHMAS KOULI KHAN, which the PERSIAN miniſter had already begun.

The TURKS had not yet recovered the ſhock occaſioned by the defeat of TOPAL OSMAN; and the rapid progreſs of the PERSIAN arms the laſt year had diſheartened the court to an extreme degree, inſomuch that they would hardly have oppoſed the enemy, had there been no other object to preſerve than the conquered provinces. At the ſame time, the good intelligence between the RUSSIANS and the PERSIANS, gave great umbrage to the port. The grand ſignior comforted himſelf however in hopes of an accommodation with the PERSIANS, and that the loſs of GEORGIA would be repaired by his conqueſts in chriſtendom; the ſituation of the EUROPEAN

[g] We find afterwards, that the RUSSIAN miniſters were too terrible of the changes to which PERSIA was ſubject, to [redacted] this deſign into execution.

PEAN powers at that time ſeeming to facilitate the ſucceſs of the OTTOMAN arms. The PERSIAN army was now increaſed to 120,000 men, and KOULI KHAN abſolutely refuſed to enter into terms of accommodation, unleſs the TURKS would not only yield up all the conquered provinces, but alſo pay him the charge of the war. 1735.

The OTTOMAN court was continually ſending troops, ammunition, and money to ALEPPO and TREBISONDE, from whence the army under ABDALLAH KOUPROLI, BASHA of CAIRO, was ſupplied; this general had alſo ſuccours from CAIRO, but as yet he kept cloſe in his intrenchments in ARMENIA. The TURKS eſteeming this as a holy war, were yet in ſpirits to try the fortune of another campaign. The grand ſignior therefore gave orders to the SERASKIER KOUPROLI, to give battle to TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, as ſoon as he ſhould find himſelf ſufficiently reinforced.

The PERSIAN general had ſpent the beginning of this year in reducing GEORGIA, and was now on his march to ERIVAN. Deſigning to bring the TURKS to an engagement, he ſent a detachment of 15000 men towards their camp. The SERASKIER immediately concluded, that this motion could be made with no other deſign than to reconnoitre his ſituation; he therefore ſent a body of his beſt cavalry to meet them, and after a ſhort ſkirmiſh the PERSIANS retreated in confuſion. The SERASKIER unwilling to loſe ſo apparent an advantage, diſpatched more troops after them, and followed himſelf at the head of his army, making forced marches, in hopes to intercept their junction with the main body of the PERSIANS.

On the 10th of JUNE, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN appeared with 40,000 men in the valley of ARPAKAVI, ſo that the whole force with him did not exceed 55,0000. The SERASKIER, on the other hand, had an army of 80,000. At the approach of the TURKS, the PERSIAN general broke up his camp with a ſeeming precipitation, and retired towards ERIVAN. After ſeveral forced marches, being arrived at the ſtreight previouſly deſigned for the action, he concealed a body of his men in a wood, whilſt another ſtrong party was covered in a valley. In this ſituation he prepared to receive the TURKS.

1735. The van of the TURKISH army ſaw themſelves at once attacked in flank and rear by the PERSIANS, who came out of the defiles. The action was very bloody, and laſted five hours; the SERASKIER had two horſes killed under him, and after fighting very bravely, met with the ſame fate as his predeceſſor TOPAL OSMAN; beſides him, fell DEMIR BASHA, and MUSTAPHA BASHA, generals of the firſt rank, the laſt was a kinſman of the grand ſignior; they loſt alſo four other BASHAS, with 20,000 men, the greateſt part of whom were killed, the reſt taken priſoners; the PERSIANS likewiſe made themſelves maſters of thirty-two pieces of cannon, with the military cheſt and baggage.

This victory was obtained the cheaper, as the rear of the TURKS could not come up, and conſequently had no ſhare in the action: theſe retired as ſoon as they found their van totally defeated: they were followed however by the PERSIANS for near three leagues; ſome fled to the neighbouring cities, and others into the mountains. ABDALLAH BASHA carried off 8000 TURKS to CARS, a city in the UPPER ARMENIA.

The news of this defeat flung the whole city of CONSTANTINOPLE into the utmoſt conſternation, as they concluded from hence, that not only the conquered countries muſt ſubmit, but that it would be dangerous to the whole empire to continue the war any longer. Freſh orders were therefore ſent to ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, with full powers to negotiate a peace with TAHMAS KOULI KHAN. The friendſhip which the PERSIAN general had profeſſed for this BASHA, was a circumſtance which ſerved to ſupport the drooping ſpirits of the OTTOMAN court; the BASHA had alſo acquired ſo great a reputation, that his enemies as well as his partizans, often ſtiled him ACHMED PADISHA[s]. The mufti and all the court appeared however with very ſorrowful countenances. CARA ACHMED, who had been for ſome time lieutenant to the governor of BAGDAT, a good ſoldier, and well verſed in the liberal arts, was now ſent to ſupply the place of the SERASKIER KOUPROLI.

TAHMAS KOULI KHAN was no ſooner maſter of the field, than he diſpatched an officer to the RUSSIAN court, to inform them of his victory. The

[s] The emperor ACHMED.

The designs which he had now formed, required a peace with the TURKS; 1735.
but he ſtill promiſed to do nothing without the conſent of the empreſs of RUSSIA. However, if we may judge from the event, he was deſirous of engaging the RUSSIANS in a war with the TURKS, as the moſt effectual means of promoting his own ſchemes.

This ſecond important victory favoured his deſigns. He immediately laid ſiege to ERIVAN the capital of ARMENIA; the garriſon having no expectation of ſuccours, ſoon demanded to capitulate, and were permitted to retire to CARS; but part of the inhabitants were removed into KHORASAN. From thence he ſent a ſtrong detachment to ERZEROUM [h]; and by the end of this year's campaign he recovered all the conquered provinces.

If we conſider to what a wretched ſtate PERSIA had been reduced ſix years before, when TAHMAS KOULI KHAN appeared at the head of her forces, we muſt impute this rapid ſucceſs to his military genius and fortune. What a prodigious change was it for a country devoured by rapine, whoſe ſubjects were deſpiſed abroad, and plunged into miſeries at home, to give laws to a powerful monarchy in ſo ſhort a time! It is natural to think, that in the height of his triumphs, ASIA would not have bounded his conqueſts, had his paſſion been only for military glory; but every circumſtance of his conduct proved that he aſpired at more than triumphs; and that his ambition of ſovereignty was equal to that of conqueſt; neither of which could be long ſupported without vaſt funds, and theſe hardly were to be obtained by purſuing the war againſt the TURKS.

Before we enter upon the relation of any new event, we muſt go back to the ſituation of the OTTOMAN court. The defeat of the SERASKIER KOUPROLI was attended with a further change of miniſtry at CONSTANTINOPLE. ISMAEL BASHA, the grand vizir, who had been the chief adviſer to proſecute the war with PERSIA, was depoſed the 12th of JULY, and though a relation of the grand ſignior, was baniſhed to the iſle of CANDIA:

[h] At ERZEROUM the [redacted] was concluded by the PERSIAN and TURKISH miniſters.

1735. CANDIA: MAHOMMED BASHA ſucceeded him; the laſt was alſo appointed SERASKIER of the army intended to be ſent againſt the RUSSIANS. This miniſter accordingly marched out of CONSTANTINOPLE in great pomp and ceremony, with the ſtandard of MAHOMMED carried before him. The RUSSIANS, who naturally expected this event, were very vigilant in marching an army early into the field; inſomuch, that ASOPH was beſieged before the TURKS had taken care to provide a ſufficient garriſon. This place being at the mouth of the river DON on the PALUS MÆOTIS, and communicating with the BLACK SEA, the laying ſiege to it created great alarms at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The miniſters of the ſeveral chriſtian potentates interpoſed their mediation, to prevent the great effuſion of blood, which the RUSSIAN war muſt neceſſarily occaſion; but the TURKS were inexorably bent to purſue it. KOULI KHAN pretended to make it an article in the peace he was negotiating with the TURKS, to include the RUSSIANS. This was a miniſterial ſtroke, which anſwered a double purpoſe. He knew the TURKS were entirely averſe to it, and conſequently their refuſal gave him the better plea to make his own terms; and, at the ſame time, he ſecretly wiſhed to involve his new friend, as well as his old one, in a war that ſhould keep them well employed for ſome time, whilſt he purſued the favourite projects which he had planned: for this purpoſe, it was alſo neceſſary to ſtart all the difficulties imaginable, in order to protract the iſſue of the conferences at ERZEROUM. ABDIL BAKI KHAN, the PERSIAN embaſſador, met ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, but nothing could be concluded this year. The TURKS made no difficulty to yield up or reſtore all the countries conquered from PERSIA ſince the time of SHAH HUSSEIN, with thoſe which had been ſeparated from that empire during that reign; but KOULI KHAN, not ſatisfied with this, made pretenſions on BAGDAT, and demanded to be paid the expences of the war.

The iſſue however made it appear, that it was not his intentions to exact ſuch rigorous conditions, but to gain time, and diſpoſe of the governments of all the conquered countries in a ſatisfactory manner, and to endeavour to perſuade the RUSSIAN court, that [illegible]eant to proſecute the war, notwithſtand[illegible]g the treaty already commenced.

PART

PART IV.

FROM THE ELECTING OF TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN KING OF PERSIA IN 1736, TILL HIS RETURN FROM HIS MEMORABLE EXPEDITION INTO INDIA IN 1740.

CHAP. XV.

The young SHAH ABAS *dies. The* RUSSIANS *evacuate* DERBEND, *and yield up their conquests in* PERSIA. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN *declared king. Conditions of accepting the diadem. The* MULLAH BASHI *put to death.* NADIR *coins money, and seizes the lands of the church. Edict concerning the sect of the* SUNNIS *and* SCHIAS.

THE beginning of this year ripened the plot. PERSIA, trembling at the effects of her own conquests, saw herself in the hands of an usurper, whose military abilities rendered him the idol of his army. The young prince ABAS, who was of a complection extremely delicate, died. Whether his death was intirely according to the course of nature, is not declared: it is probable, however precarious the life of this infant-king might have been, that some art was used, in order, that so feeble an impediment should not obstruct the designs of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN. 1736.

The 10th of MARCH, as I have more than once observed, is the PERSIANS new-years-day, when it is the custom of their princes to assemble

1736. the governors of the provinces, and demand an account of their adminiſtration. This was a favourable occaſion to convoke all the governors, elders, and great officers, together with the generals of his army, in order to communicate the ſucceſs of his arms, and to conſult what further meaſures were neceſſary to be taken for the common good. The rendezvous was appointed in the plains of MOGAN, near the banks of the ARAS, where he had aſſembled the greateſt part of his forces, conſiſting of near 100,000 men. He acquainted the nobles and governors, that the reaſon of calling them together was, that they might know from him how GOD had been pleaſed to bleſs his arms with ſucceſs, and to reſtore all the dominions which had been torn from the late family of the SEFFIES. That he had delivered PERSIA from the yoke of the AFGHANS, and was in treaty with the TURKS, with whom he hoped ſoon to make ſuch a peace as would be agreeable, ſince the *grand ſignior* muſt be obliged to accept of the conditions which he ſhould preſcribe: that he had alſo concluded a peace with the RUSSIANS, who had reſtored all thoſe dominions belonging to the PERSIAN empire, which they had conquered fourteen years before: in ſhort, that he had left nothing to be done except the conqueſt of KANDAHAR. But as it was neceſſary for the ſupport and continuation of the glory of the monarchy, that they ſhould have a perſon at the head of their armies, who might prevent ſuch fatal conſequences as they experienced in the preceding reign, and as it was his intention to enjoy the remainder of his life in repoſe, he deſired to reſign his office; for which reaſon they muſt make choice of a new general. Moreover, as it had pleaſed GOD to deprive them of the young ABAS, they muſt elect a king alſo: if they thought SHAH TÆHMAS could govern them with valour and wiſdom, that they had only to recall him; but if he was not capable, they muſt fix their choice upon ſome other: that ſo important a buſineſs required mature conſideration; he therefore recommended it to them, and deſired their anſwer in three days.

There was hardly a ſenſible man in the aſſembly, but ſaw through the thin diſguiſe of theſe propoſitions; and many ſaw it with indignation, who had not virtue enough to declare their real ſentiments. KOULI

KHAN retired to his tent, and left the deputies to their own contemplations: he ordered that they ſhould be entertained at the public expence, and treated with all the reſpect imaginable. It is reaſonable to preſume, that he had already made his ſentiments known to the principal officers, whilſt it was obvious to every common ſoldier, that military glory, and a deſpotic authority, were his ruling paſſions. The great care and tenderneſs which he had upon all occaſions ſhewn them, neceſſarily engaged their wiſhes to ſee him their ſovereign, as well as their general. Under theſe circumſtances, what voice could the deputies of the people have, but ſuch as was agreeable to the army? 1736.

The three days being expired, the deputies waited on the general with a petition, repreſenting, "That as GOD had been pleaſed to make uſe "of his arm to reſtore the glory of the PERSIAN monarchy, none was "ſo worthy of the diadem as himſelf; that their lives and fortunes were "redeemed by him, and to him therefore they ought to be devoted."

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN then replied: "It is true, that ſince I led the "people to battle, divine Providence has been pleaſed to favour my de"ſigns. You have yourſelves been witneſſes of the amazing ſucceſs of "the PERSIAN arms. It was not my intention however in calling you "together, to receive this mark of your gratitude; but ſince heaven has "decreed that my feeble arm ſhould be the inſtrument of that almighty "power which governs all things, I will conſent to your propoſal, under "certain conditions. It will reſt on yourſelves to ſupport your own "choice, and aſſiſt me to exalt the nation to as high a pitch of glory "as the greateſt kings of the former ages have done. But if you will "make me your king, you muſt remember to comply with the condi"tions which I now require. Firſt, You muſt make the diadem here"ditary in my family. Secondly, You ſhall not entertain in your houſes "any of the family of your old kings, much leſs mention any thing "tending to rebellion. And laſtly, You ſhall not curſe OMAR, OSMAN, "and ABUBEKER, nor obſerve the tumultuous meetings at the comme"moration of HUSSEIN's death; and as a great effuſion of blood has "been occaſioned by the religious differences of the ſects of the

"SCHIAS

1736. "SCHIAS and SUNNIS [i], which, in my opinion, are not in themſelves "eſſential, an aſſembly of the prieſts ſhall be called to regulate theſe "differences."

It may, I think, be preſumed, that NADIR SHAH, for that is the name by which we muſt now call him, elate with his great victories over the TURKS, had flattered himſelf that he might one day unite the PERSIAN and OTTOMAN dominions under the ſame head; but though this dazling object floated in his imagination, he could ſcarcely hope to make a ſpeedy conqueſt of the minds of the people, or that he could reign over both nations, whilſt they remained of different ſects. It is true, he was bred a SUNNI, and from thence might ſeem ſomewhat inclined that way; though, in reality, the tenets of both parties were equally indifferent to him.

The KHANS and deputies of all the provinces came readily into the two firſt articles, which ſeemed more particularly to regard their allegiance to their new ſovereign. As to the commemoration of the death of HUSSEIN, the ſon of ALI, we have already explained, that this feſtival [k] regarded the eccleſiaſtical government; but ſince it might be made an occaſion of tumultuous aſſemblies, NADIR wiſely guarded againſt it, as injurious to his intereſt. In regard to the laſt article, they deſired the high prieſt [l] might be heard; he was accordingly brought into the preſence of the new ſovereign, where he ſpoke to this effect: "It is not for earthly prin-"ces to direct in what manner the GOD of heaven and earth ought to "be worſhiped: we have our law, as delivered down by divine autho-"rity, through the mediation of the prophet [m]; that is our guide; and as "all changes in religious matters are ſubject to very dangerous conſe-"quences, I hope no means will be taken to fully the luſtre of your vic-"tories, by a ſtep ſo derogatory to the welfare of the true believers." Such a ſpeech as this, might have eaſily fired the hearts of a people naturally inclined to enthuſiaſm; but perhaps this honeſt prieſt was the only man

[i] See Vol. I. page 338. alſo Vol. III. page 33. To this we may add, that as the SUNNIS, who are the ſect of the TURKS, acknowledge the khoran as expounded by the doctors, MALEK, SHAFI, HANBAL, and ABUL HANIFA; ſo the PERSIANS or SCHIAS adhere to ALI, and are guided by their own IMAMS, who have expounded their eccleſiaſtical law. [k] See Vol. III. page 32.

[l] MULLAH BASHI. [m] MAHOMMED.

man who dared to ſpeak his mind; the only one, at leaſt, of any emi- 1736.
nent authority, who had courage to check that imperious ſpirit, which already ſhewed itſelf in NADIR, though he had not yet received the enſigns of royalty: but as if heaven had marked him out for deliverance from the cruel bondage of NADIR's government, he was ſoon ſilenced with a bow-ſtring. This well-meaning prieſt might, however, have checked his zeal; for as the matter was to be referred to prieſts of the different ſects, the conſequence was very natural, that it would remain as they found it: nor did the people give their tacit conſent to theſe propoſals, ſo as to produce any particular effect, with regard to the uniformity of religion.

The next day, being the 11th of MARCH, the general was proclaimed king, under the name of NADIR SHAH [a], and the people paid him homage as ſuch, which he accepted with an air of dignity mixed with arrogance. The ARMENIAN patriarch, who was in the camp, performed part of the ceremony, by buckling on his ſabre; but as to the plume [c] and diadem, which, as already obſerved, is the more eſſential mark of royalty, he changed it himſelf from the left-ſide to his right, as if he meant to ſhew, that to his own arm only he was indebted for his exaltation.

Thus did the aſpiring genius of this inſtrument of divine wrath accompliſh his end: thus did he reach that point which CÆSAR could not attain; tho' in valour, generoſity, and ſtrength of mind, this celebrated ROMAN was not inferior to the PERSIAN uſurper; whilſt he excelled him in learning, politeneſs, and humanity, to which NADIR indeed had no pretenſions. CROMWELL alſo was baffled in his aim at the crown of ENGLAND; neither his ſkill nor cunning, nor his valour nor reſolution, could acquire him the name of king. ROME, tho' corrupt to an extreme, and ripe for a change of that form of government, by which her people had arrived at ſo high a pitch of glory, had yet ſome honeſt and gallant ſpirits, who thought the killing of a tyrant warrantable, at leaſt not ſo great an evil as ſlavery. In ENGLAND,

[a] The PERSIANS generally put the title after the name, tho' EUROPEANS uſe it before and after indifferently. [c] Theſe are of the feathers of black herons ſtuck into a tube, ſupported by a ſtud of precious ſtones.

1736. ENGLAND, there were numbers whoſe principles were untainted, and who ſaw the error which had been committed, in attempting to change the monarchy into a republican government: but in PERSIA, ignorance and want of foreſight, with univerſal corruption of manners, prepared the necks of the people for the yoke to which they now ſubmitted; and it was but a few years after, that they ſaw pyramids of human heads erected on that ſpot, where they choſe their king [p].

NADIR being arrived at the ſummit of his ambition, began to exert that boundleſs authority with which he was inveſted; however, he tempered his natural fierceneſs and cruelty with ſome tokens of munificence: he entertained all the deputies of the people for three days, and treated them with great civility; among other ſhews and amuſements in the camp, was that of ſhooting an arrow at a gold plate, which was fixed on a lofty pole; thoſe who ſhot down the mark were to receive it as a reward of their ſkill, together with a coat of honour.

The motto, which he choſe upon this occaſion for his ſeal, was this:

"As the jewel was fallen out of the ring of fame and glory, ſo GOD "has reſtored it in the name of NADIR."

The coins which he cauſed to be ſtruck had theſe inſcriptions:

"NADIR king of kings, and glory of the age."

Another was:

"Coins proclaim through the earth, the reign of NADIR, the king "who conquers the world."

The aſſembly were at length diſmiſſed, to appearance very well ſatisfied; the prieſts only reſented the death of their chief, the MULLAH BASHI, and the little regard which the new ſovereign ſhewed to the national religious tenets: however, as he did nothing by halves, he was determined to pull off the maſk. As ſoon as he arrived at CASBIN, whither he next directed his march, he convoked all the eccleſiaſtics of the city and neighbouring countries, and demanded of them in what manner

[p] See Vol. I. page 338.

manner the revenues of the church were employed; they anſwered, in the ſupport of prieſts, colleges and moſques, in the laſt of which inceſſant prayers were offered to heaven for the ſucceſs of the arms of their ſovereigns: to which he replied to this effect: "It is certain that you have "been very remiſs in your duty, and that the Almighty is not pleaſed "with the prayers of ſuch men as you are. It is now near fifty years "ſince the empire has been on the decline, and was at length plunged "into the deepeſt miſery, till the victorious inſtruments [q] of the moſt "wonderful, by expoſing their lives for its defence and glory, have at "length reſtored it. Theſe are the prieſts to whoſe ſervices we are in-"debted; therefore the revenues and lands of the church ſhall be appro-"priated to their ſupport [r]." 1736.

It is eaſy to imagine, what impreſſions the prieſts would receive from being plundered of all their revenues; but as much the greateſt part of the army, particularly all the TARTARS, were of the ſect of the SUNNIS, they treated their complaints with deriſion; whilſt the people in general, apprehending that they ſhould be relieved from their taxes, in proportion as the church revenues were applied to the ſupport of the army, felt no great reluctance in ſubmitting. Religion, indeed, ſeemed to be almoſt at the ſame low ebb as morality, or they never would have choſen NADIR KOULI for their king. He left the people however at their liberty, with regard to the ſupport of prieſts at their own expence, but continued to exact a conformity to the SUNNIS, agreeably to what he had mentioned in the plains of MOGAN; and for this purpoſe he publiſhed the following edict:

The decree to unite the two ſects of the SCHIAS *and the* SUNNIS, *which divide the* PERSIANS *and the* TURKS.

"All in high ſtations, the SEDR,[s] of great power, the governor, mini-"ſters of the law, and learned men of the royal reſidence of ISFAHAN, "being

[q] His army. [r] What theſe revenues amounted to, my authorities do not tell me. If it was one million ſterling, it bears one fifth proportion to the whole revenue, according to the calculation in Vol II. page 27. [s] The SEDR is a perſon of authority in the empire, who has the management of church lands, and of the revenues, for the maintenance of public ſchools, ſalaries to learned men, and other pious uſes.

1736. " being exalted through the king's favour, ſhall KNOW, that while the " abode of our enſigns, on which victory attends, was at MOGAN [t], it " was agreed, that according to the antient cuſtom tranſmitted down to " us by our predeceſſors in the religion, as explained by HANIFA [u] and " JAFFER [w], from henceforth we do acknowledge the directing Caliphs [x], " in whom the moſt high is well pleaſed, as the ſucceſſors of the chief " of meſſengers [y]; and that, whenever there is occaſion for it, the peo- " ple ſhall mention the names of the four with great reſpect.

" But, whereas, in ſome places of theſe kingdoms, at the time of " calling to prayers, and ſtanding up to pray, the people mention theſe " words, ALI, the friend of GOD [z], according to the uſual practice of the " SCHIAS [a], but contrary to thoſe who are of orthodox faith. This we " declare to be repugnant to the true religion, and contrary to the agree- " ment and covenant entered into. Beſides, it is apparent to the world, " that as the prince of the faithful, the lion of GOD, the victorious [b], is " elect, praiſed, and acceptable to the Lord of glory; his rank and inte- " reſt at the court of unity, will not be increaſed by vulgar teſtimony, " nor the full moon of his power diminiſhed by the omiſſion of theſe " words. But the ill conſequence of this form is, that both ſects [c], who " equally acknowledge the chief and prophet [d] of both worlds, are pro- " voked to animoſities, which are offenſive to the prophet, and to the " prince of the faithful [e]. Therefore, as ſoon as this high edict is pro- " mulged, let all muſſulmen, high and low, the callers to prayer in the " cities, their dependencies, and adjacent countries, KNOW, that from " this day henceforth, theſe words [f], which differ from the orthodox " cuſtom, ſhall not be mentioned. It is alſo uſual with governors in " their aſſemblies, after their prefatory prayer [g], to ſay, may the king, " from

[t] The plains where he was choſen king. [u] HANIFA, one of the four TURKISH doctors, famous for expounding the MAHOMMEDAN law. [w] JAFFER, one of the IMAMS or prophets, whoſe opinion the SUNNIS pay the greateſt regard to. [x] ABUBEKER, OMAR, OSMAN, and ALI. [y] MAHOMMED [z] Is always annexed by the SCHIAS to the KELMAH, viz. there is but one GOD, MAHOMMED is his prophet, and ALI his friend. [a] The ſect of the PERSIANS. [b] MORTISA, ALI's titles. [c] The SUNNIS and SCHIAS. [d] MAHOMMED. [e] MORTISA ALI. [f] ALI, the friend of GOD [g] FATTANA and.

" from whom all our fortune flows, live for ever. As a prayer for 1736.
" perpetuating a mortal man is vain, and of no effect, we command that
" every KHAN [i], who is master of a drum [k] and ensign, say it in this
" manner, thanks to the true king for all benefits. From henceforward
" let all persons observe these settled regulations and written orders: for,
" whosoever deviates from them, will incur the displeasure of the king
" of kings. Written in the month SAFER, 1149 [l]."

Whatever policy might induce NADIR to make a difference in the form of prayer, it seems to have betrayed him into an absurdity. He might apprehend his interest to be concerned in being acknowledged the " true king;" yet his observation on perpetuating a mortal man, seems to be more vain, than the thing itself, which he calls so; since " living " for ever," can only allude to immortality after death; or, according to the eastern manner, the longest period of life.

CHAP. XVI.

NADIR SHAH *marches to* CASBIN, *and sends an embassador to* TURKEY. *The grand signior's orders to* ACHMED BASHA *concerning peace. All the conquered provinces yielded up to* PERSIA. NADIR SHAH *marches to* ISFAHAN. *Great preparations for an expedition against* KANDAHAR.

THO' it was impossible this edict could meet with universal approbation, we do not find that any remonstrances were made against it. However, it was a very politic step upon the whole, as it was not only contrived to avoid expensive and bloody wars with the TURKS, but also calculated to continue the diadem in his own family, who were well known to be SUNNIS; and according to the former constitution of

and TOKBIR, is a prefatory prayer, which is generally the first chapter of the khoran. TOKBIR is repeating three times, these words, ALLAH, AKBAH, GOD is greatest, before the KELLIAH above-mentioned. I presume that the order extended to all persons to use this form.

[k] TABAL, or small drum, which general officers ordinarily wear fixed to their saddles.

[l] JUNE, 1736.

1736. the empire, would otherwiſe find it as difficult to eſtabliſh a lineal ſucceſſion, as a roman-catholic prince in a proteſtant country.

NADIR, during his ſtay at CASBIN, took the uſual oath, "To govern "the people according to the laws of GOD, as revealed by his prophet "MAHOMMED; and to protect and defend the PERSIANS againſt all their "enemies." From hence he diſpatched a miniſter to the OTTOMAN court, to acquaint them of his acceſſion to the throne; he alſo ordered another to the court of ST. PETERSBURG for the ſame purpoſe. The empreſs of RUSSIA in return, ordered her reſident in PERSIA to preſent her congratulations; and preſuming that he had already made peace with the TURKS, ſhe demanded what the conditions of it were, that ſhe might ſee if there was any thing contrary to the treaty which ſhe had lately concluded with the PERSIAN empire. NADIR ſtill perſiſted, that he would enter into no accommodations with the TURKS injurious to the intereſt of her imperial majeſty: that if his miniſters had done any thing, it was without his orders; though, at the ſame time, the embaſſador appointed for TURKEY was one of his prime counſellors and favourites.

On the other hand, the TURKISH miniſtry endeavoured to perſuade the people, that in conſideration of their yielding up all the conquered provinces, the PERSIANS would make a diverſion in their favour againſt the RUSSIANS, who, during this interval, had made themſelves maſters of AZOPH. The grand ſignior, who feared NADIR when he was only general of the forces of PERSIA, was the more deſirous of cultivating a good underſtanding with him, now that he was exalted to the throne of that empire.

It was already expected, that NADIR would turn his arms towards INDIA: but in the preſent ſituation of his affairs, it was by no means convenient to give either the RUSSIANS or the TURKS any cauſe to believe, that he meditated an enterprize againſt a country at ſo great a diſtance. The former had reaſon to complain of his conduct, in regard to his treaty with the TURKS; whilſt theſe were compelled only by the neceſſity of their affairs, to ſubmit to terms which they thought highly injurious

injurious to their honour and intereſt. Hence he judged it neceſſary to practiſe all his arts to prevent thoſe reſentments, which might have obſtructed his favourite deſign. 1736.

The grand ſignior no ſooner received notice of NADIR's being advanced to the throne of PERSIA, than he repeated his orders to ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, to conclude the treaty at ERZEROUM: on his part he ſent GHENTCH ALI BASHA to that city; and the SHAH appointed ABDUL BAKI KHAN as his embaſſador to CONSTANTINOPLE. The orders which ACHMED BASHA received from the OTTOMAN court were couched in the following terms:

"The moſt honoured and reſpected miniſter of the empire, moſt renowned, wiſe, and truſty counſellor, the moſt happy ACHMED BASHA, our SERASKIER and VIZIR in ASIA, whoſe fame and felicity is everlaſting, ſhall know, That certain differences have happened between our ſublime and exalted court, and the kingdom of PERSIA, which have been the cauſe of immenſe loſſes and ſufferings to the inhabitants of the frontiers, inſomuch, that many diſtricts are intirely ruined. As we are moved with the moſt tender compaſſion, and deſirous to eſtabliſh a laſting tranquillity, we have reſolved to make theſe reciprocal loſſes the occaſion of a ſtrict friendſhip; thus to obey the orders of providence, and preſerve the people from miſery.

"We have already informed you of our deſign to enter into a convention with his renowned majeſty the SHAH, who ſhines as SATURN, and whoſe vows are heard by the Almighty. The treaty made by our predeceſſor AMURATH the IVth. is propoſed as the foundation of this convention. We have learnt from your letters, that the moſt famous and happy SHAH is diſpoſed to reform the errors of the religion of PERSIA, and has agreed that ſeveral articles concerning the faith ſhall be inſerted in the treaty. As the two courts have propoſed to conclude this covenant, the illuſtrious ABDUL BAKI KHAN, on the part of the SHAH, is inveſted with the character of embaſſador for this purpoſe. We agree to the three following articles:

"I. That

1736. " I. That hence forward the PERSIANS ſhall be at liberty to viſit the " tomb of MECCA, and other religious places, without impediment, " and ſhall be free of all duties whatſoever: and in order that " every article ſhall be exactly obſerved, a plenipotentiary on our " part ſhall always reſide at the ſplendid court of ISPAHAN; and " one on the behalf of the SHAH ſhall remain at our court.

" II. That the SHAH, as a pure effect of the greatneſs of his ſoul, " will cauſe the differences in religion to ceaſe, by aboliſhing the " ſect of the SCHIAS, and for the future tolerating only the SUNNIS, " who acknowledge the four ſucceſſors of MAHOMMED, ABUBEKER, " OMAR, OSMAN, and ALI, to the end that there may not be any " farther diſputes about religion.

" III. After the SHAH ſhall have re-eſtabliſhed good order in his do- " minions, and extirpated the SCHIAS, from whence aroſe eternal " diſorders and diſputes concerning the public exerciſe of religion, " and ſhall have acknowledged us, the ſucceſſor of MAHOMMED, " we ſhall on our part acknowledge him as SHAH.

" And notwithſtanding that we have already given you this full power, " we authorize you again happily to conclude the treaty with the em- " baſſador ABDUL BAKI KHAN, in the place which you ſhall chuſe to " make the exchange; and afterwards, you are to ſend the treaty to " our ſplendid court by the vizir KORMAN WALEY, who will conduct " the embaſſador ABDUL BAKI KHAN, with all his attendants. For " this purpoſe we have diſpatched CAPIDUSI BASHA to conduct him " hither, and defray his expences on the road.

" When you ſhall have received the preſent, and comprehended the " contents of this commiſſion; above all exert yourſelf to eſtabliſh a " good underſtanding between the two courts. The prayers of the " faithful will aid you in attaining the extirpation of the ſect of the " SCHIAS, and to exclude from the treaty the unbelieving RUSSIANS. " By this means you may expect the exalted favour of our majeſty, and " the acknowledgment of all true believers. Theſe are our orders, by

" which

" which you are to regulate yourself. Given the 8th of the month 1736.
" ZILCHILDESI, 1148 m. I, CASI ASKER MAHOMMED, a servant of the
" true GOD, do attest that this copy is according to the original of the
" sultan."

The conferences at ERZEROUM still continued, and tho' the TURKS submitted to every thing which the SHAH seemed inclined to insist upon, yet nothing was finally determined; and ABDUL BAKI KHAN was ordered to proceed to CONSTANTINOPLE, where he continued to practise the arts of evasion, no doubt by the instruction of his master. The OTTOMAN court was extremely offended at this conduct; but as peace was absolutely necessary, near the close of the year the treaty was concluded. NADIR was acknowledged as sovereign of PERSIA; all the conquered provinces were yielded back to that empire; and a full permission was granted for the PERSIANS to visit the tomb of MAHOMMED. The last article was however of very little moment, since the true policy of the PERSIAN state was to prevent their subjects from making that pilgrimage.

In the mean while, NADIR marched with his army from CASBIN to ISFAHAN, with a view to settle the interior government of the empire. This was not the place which he desired most to favour; however, its situation with regard to the TURKS and the RUSSIANS, and some affectation of popularity, with respect to the antient metropolis of the empire, drew his attention. His natural inclination to avarice, turned his thoughts to the encouragement of commerce; in which, however, he had not the least skill, nor patience to see things brought to maturity. The interest of the ARMENIANS began to revive; the distinction of christian and MAHOMMEDAN was weakened, not only as a consequence of the confusion which had long reigned in PERSIA, but also as an effect of blending the two sects of the SUNNIS and SCHIAS. A careless indulgence, as well as a fierce persecution, seem equally destructive of true religion. Moral duties, and mutual confidences, are the natural effects of religion, and as essential to the encouragement of commerce, as to the support of a state in

m APRIL 1736.

1736. in general. What proſpect then had the PERSIANS of a happy reign, under a man whoſe whole life had been guided by principles diametrically oppoſite to theſe duties?

The inſatiable avarice of the eunuchs and miniſters of the weak and unfortunate HUSSEIN, had ſuffered many of the public buildings in ISFAHAN to fall to decay, and private houſes were in no better condition [n]; the AFGHANS had not repaired them, nor was NADIR inclined to recommend any expence of that nature. The ſame paſſion of covetouſneſs poſſeſſed his breaſt, as it had done thoſe of the eunuchs in the former reign, though the objects they purſued were very different. However, he cauſed the walls to be repaired, and put the city in a better ſtate of defence. He alſo made a diſtribution of ſeveral lands, in order to their cultivation, reſerving to himſelf a conſiderable part of their produce. To thoſe whom poverty had reduced to the loweſt ebb, he cauſed grain to be given, alſo ſuch ſmall ſums as were neceſſary to provide the utenſils of huſbandry. Thus he conſulted, in ſome meaſure, what was eſſential to the ſupport of the ſtate; but at the ſame time, the chief object of his care was the maintenance of his army.

Though the late campaign had been attended with ſuch great ſucceſs, yet the common accidents of war had leſſened the number of his forces; for which reaſon, he ſent into all parts for recruits: this diſtreſſed the inhabitants in a double reſpect, as thoſe fit to bear arms were the moſt proper for huſbandry; and the more his army was augmented, the greater neceſſity he was under for a large ſupply of money. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce in general, had been declining very faſt ſome years before the fatal invaſion of the AFGHANS; during their reign, the ſtate was plunged ſtill deeper in miſery; and, ſince their expulſion, ſcarce any thing had been heard but the din of war. There is ſomething amazingly productive of ſatisfaction in the notion of conqueſt: every ſubject in a military government, is apt to raiſe himſelf in his own eſteem, in proportion to the atchievements and victories of his ſovereign; tho' ſuch victories may be the very occaſion of their miſery. NADIR had indeed

[n] See Vol. I. page 230.

indeed made a rapid progreſs in his conqueſt; but this ſerved only to delude the people with an imaginary felicity, no longer durable than the firſt tranſport of a tumultuous joy. 1736.

The ſums which NADIR wanted for the proſecution of his deſigns were very conſiderable, and could not be collected without the utmoſt ſeverity. He therefore ſent his officers ° to all the cities and provinces in the empire, where money, proviſions, horſes, arms, or any of the implements of war could be procured; charging them to execute their commiſſions with the utmoſt diſpatch, as the cloſe of the year was appointed for his intended expedition.

It is reaſonable to preſume, that he had projected the conqueſt of the MOGHOL's empire. What encouragement he had to expect ſucceſs, we ſhall have occaſion to relate. In the height of his victories over the TURKS, he would ſcarce have directed his arms a different way, without good aſſurance that this enterprize was practicable. He made, indeed, no other profeſſion than that of ſubduing the AFGHANS of KANDAHAR; an undertaking by no means below his character as a great captain. PERSIA was delivered from the yoke of thoſe people, but not revenged. Their invaſion was conſidered as a rebellion, and as ſuch ought to be chaſtiſed; nor were theſe people in themſelves a contemptible enemy, either with regard to their numbers, their ſituation, or their bravery. HUSSEIN KHAN, the brother of MAGHMUD, who enjoyed the ſovereignty of KANDAHAR, had refuſed to come into PERSIA at the ſummons which NADIR ſent to him; and as he had put himſelf in a condition of defence, it was very plain he meant to ſupport the independency of the AFGHANS.

After the concluſion of the peace with the TURKS, NADIR ſent another embaſſador to the grand ſignior, with ſeveral magnificent preſents, among which was an elephant of a very extraordinary ſize. Having therefore nothing to apprehend from any of his neighbours; the end of this year he prepared to ſet out on his eaſtern expedition.

° MUHASSIL collectors of taxes, and other ſuch kind of duty.

CHAP. XVII.

A ſuccinct account of the incurſion of the MAHARRATTAS, *and the enmity between* NIZAM AL MULUCK, *governor of* DECCAN, *and* DEVRAN KHAN, *the firſt miniſter of* MAHOMMED SHAH, *emperor of* HINDOSTAN, *with the general ſtate of his court from* 1720 *to* 1736, *preparatory to the expedition of* NADIR SHAH *into* INDIA.

1736. BEFORE we enter upon a relation of the famous march of NADIR SHAH into INDIA, it may be proper to give a ſhort account of the ſituation of affairs at that time in the MOGHOL's empire.

In 1720, SULTAN IBRAHIM having rebelled againſt MAHOMMED SHAH, his general ABDALLAH KHAN took occaſion to pillage the rich throne of the MOGHOL [p] of its diamonds, and raiſed a great army. This general was ſoon defeated, and taken priſoner [q]; the young ſultan was confined, and the government ſeemed to be again eſtabliſhed. Some time after, NIZAM AL MULUCK [r], governor of DECCAN [s], grown too powerful for a ſubject, could not be contained within the bounds of duty, but appropriated the revenues of his province towards the maintenance of an army, which he employed in ſubjecting the adjacent countries.

He

[p] This throne was made by SHAH JEHAN, and reported to have coſt eleven millions ſterling.

[q] This general died ſome months afterwards of his wounds, and it is remarkable that forty-five women of his wives, concubines, relations, and domeſtics, burnt themſelves in one room, the day after his death. Formerly, none but the wives of the BRAHMINS or INDIAN prieſts had this barbarous privilege; but ſince the government has devolved upon the RAJAS, it has been often practiſed for ſome of the wives of princes and others to burn themſelves when their huſbands die. Some of theſe princes are independent of the MOGHOL, and govern diſtinct tribes, called RAIJPOUTS, who are eſteemed the beſt ſoldiers in INDIA. This cuſtom of burning is ſtrictly forbid by the MAHOMMEDAN, which is the eſtabliſhed religion; but ſome of the SEYD and PATTAN families, though the mere force of pride fall into this cuſtom; and, to evade the laws, ſet their apartments on flames, and thus deſtroy themſelves. There is no compulſion to this ſacrifice in any part of INDIA; but the minds of the people are ſo ſtrongly tainted with an opinion of its being honourable to the ſurviving relations of the party, that money has been often given to obtain the conſent of a governor for the liberty of deſtroying themſelves.

[r] This word ſignifies him who puts the empire in order.

[s] It is ſometimes wrote DEKEN.

He pretended to keep the MAHARRATTAS[t] from making inroads into the dominions of the MOGHOL. These people had imposed a heavy tribute on their neighbours, and taken possession of several places of consequence. They made incursions as far as the province of MALVA, killed the governor, and seized all his treasures. From thence they directed their course to GUZURAT, the inhabitants of which they treated as a conquered people; after which they returned eastward as far as GUALIAR, laying the country under contribution: the peasants implored the protection of the emperor, and the whole court was under great alarms. 1736.

The GREAT MOGHOL therefore ordered an army to be provided; and DEVRAN KHAN[u], his first minister and also his vizir with several other OMRAS[w], were appointed to command it. Instead of giving battle to the MAHARRATTAS, whose numbers were much inferior to the emperor's troops, they made a composition to pay a fourth part[x] of the revenues of DEHLIE, on condition that they would retire, and lay down their arms. These lords then returned home in pursuit of their pleasures. The whole court was devoted to amusement, and appeared in some measure in the circumstances in which that of SHAH HUSSEIN had lately been, in PERSIA.

The pusillanimous conduct of these generals, was the occasion that BAJEERAU, at the head of his MAHARRATTAS, took up arms again the next year, notwithstanding the contribution agreed for had been punctually paid. They plundered many places, and intended to march as far as AKBAR ABAD[y]. Upon this, DEVRAN KHAN and the vizir marched against them a second time, and got up with them a little after they passed the river JUMNA, intending to penetrate the province[z] of SAADIT KHAN. But this general having notice of their design, marched against them

[t] These people are sometimes called GANIMS; they inhabit the hither INDIA.

[u] He was the paymaster-general of the empire, whom they call BUKSHI.

[w] OMRA is the plural of EMIR, signifying prince or great, a title given to persons of the first rank in INDIA, as already explained; this word is also wrote UMERAS.

[x] This they call CHOT, a tribute which has been often attempted to be imposed on the more peaceable INDIANS.

[y] AGRA, this was formerly the capital.

[z] Mr. FRASER and Mr. OTTER mention this as the province of AUDH, which the former places beyond PENJAB; this must be a mistake, or the MAHARRATTAS must have travelled over a vast tract of country.

1736. them with a great force, and defeated them: DEVRAN KHAN and the vizir having joined SAADIT KHAN, purſued the MAHARRATTAS, who were intercepted by a ſtrong body of MOGHOLS, and put to flight. The offence which SAADIT KHAN took at the compromiſe made by DEVRAN KHAN with theſe free-booters, together with the great opinion he had conceived of his own merit, were the chief occaſion of his retiring to his province diſcontented.

In the mean time, MAHOMMED SHAH was not ignorant that NIZAM AL MULUCK was the real author of theſe diſorders; which it would hardly be poſſible to prevent, unleſs he returned court. The emperor therefore ſent him an invitation under the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, not only of ſecurity to his perſon, but alſo that nothing ſhould be wanting to give him pleaſure. This man was the moſt diſtinguiſhed for his abilities of any of the INDIAN lords: their cabals were the chief occaſion of plunging the ſtate into difficulties: he had often recommended the adminiſtration of juſtice as practiſed in the reigns of the former emperors, particularly that of his old maſter AURINGZEBE [a]; but the unhappy ſituation of the court rendered his advice ineffectual, ſo that he retired to his government very much diſguſted. He was irritated againſt DEVRAN KHAN and other OMRAS, who had acquired an aſcendency over the emperor, and croſſed all the meaſures which he had propoſed, whilſt he ſaw the court abandoned to buffoons and looſe women.

NIZAM AL MULUCK having been ſollicited to return to court, at length reſolved to comply: but he left his ſon GHAZI O'DIN KHAN to command in his province. He did not acknowledge that he had favoured the incurſions of the MAHARRATTAS; on the contrary, he declared that he had ſupported himſelf when the SEYDS [b] would have taken his government from him; adding to this effect: "It pleaſed the Almighty that I "baffled all their deſigns, in conſequence of which I was miſrepreſented "at court. Your majeſty alſo, induced by their intrigues, intended to "come againſt me with a mighty army, but heaven diverted the deſign, "and

[a] This prince died in 1707, after a happy reign of fifty lunar years.

[b] HOSSAN ALI KHAN and ABDALLAH KHAN, who favoured the young SULTAN IBRAHIM already mentioned.

" and you did me the juſtice to believe me a faithful ſervant." The credulous emperor perſuaded of his integrity, would have made him his vizir, but he pleaded that he was a DERVEISH, and therefore not inclined to accept of ſo high a ſtation; that there were many perſons about the court more capable of executing ſo high an office, and conſequently he deſired to be excuſed. 1736.

This lord however met a very gracious reception, and was honoured with the title of ASOF JAH [c]. He ſoon diſcovered that things were not mended, that DEVRAN KHAN had his maſter's ear, and took pains to render him ridiculous: even in the emperor's preſence he mentioned him with the higheſt mark of contempt, giving him the name of a cheat [d]. Such inſolencies as this could not be reliſhed by a man of his ſpirit: he at length declined coming to court, and ſecretly meditated revenge.

A true ſenſe of humanity, and a right knowledge of mankind, can alone ſupport us under ſuch circumſtances. If either of theſe is wanting, the corruption of the heart is apt to lead us to deſtroy thoſe, who are the occaſion of our humiliation. When the imagination is ſet at work, pride ſuggeſts a thouſand expedients; and where power is added, what miſchiefs will it not effect? But whilſt the ſhaft is aimed at one, they forget that millions may feel the wound.

The vizir had made a double inter-marriage of his ſon and daughter, to the ſon and daughter of NIZAM AL MULUCK, from whence the latter hoped to eſtabliſh an intereſt with him, in oppoſition to the other lords; and what he could not rectify by his counſels, to confound by his intrigues. The vizir however took the oppoſite party, and declined all violent meaſures, except ſuch as gratified his own avarice. This enraged the haughty INDIAN ſo much the more; that rather than not gratify his private reſentment, he reſolved to uſe the arm of a foreign enemy. He knew that SAADIT KHAN, governor of AUDIH, was become a male-content

[c] ASOF JAH ſignifies in rank as ASOF, the name of him who is pretended to have been vizir to SOLOMON. [d] MAIMOUNDGI. This word ſignifies a quack doctor or cheat; but here applicable to his cajoling addreſs.

1736. tent as well as himſelf; he therefore entered into a ſecret correſpondence with him, and it is ſaid they both joined to inform NADIR SHAH of the ſtate of affairs at the MOGHOL's court.

Tho' it is granted, that NIZAM AL MULUCK might be actuated by a ſpirit of revenge, it ſeems to me highly probable that NADIR did not ſtand in need of ſuch inſtruments, for the execution of his ambitious deſigns. It can hardly be imagined, that he was ignorant of the general ſtate of affairs in that empire, or of the immenſe riches poſſeſſed by the MOGHOL. He knew alſo the valour of his own troops, and the effeminacy of the INDIANS: how eaſy is it then to believe, that a project of this nature might be formed by ſo ambitious a man, whoſe neceſſities for the ſupport of his army would tempt him to a deſperate enterprize?

But it is not my buſineſs as an hiſtorian to enter very deep into the more ſecret ſprings of his conduct, which can be determined only by conſequences, and of theſe every reader ought to be permitted to judge; where the cauſes of events cannot be clearly traced out, the mind may exerciſe its faculty, in paſſing that judgment which ſeems moſt conſiſtent.

It appears to me, that tho' NADIR had the wiſdom to keep his own counſel, he had taken the reſolution of marching into INDIA, in that exultation of heart, which aroſe from his great ſucceſs againſt the TURKS. The war, in which they were already engaged with the RUSSIANS, was certainly an additional reaſon of his carrying this deſign into execution.

Having reſolved upon this expedition, he nominated his ſon RIZA KOULI MYRZA[e] regent of PERSIA. This young man had already given ſeveral marks of a genius very like his father's, ſo that from a ſimilarity of diſpoſition NADIR added the affection of a friend to paternal love, and flattered himſelf into a belief, that the government would be ſecure in his ſon's hands.

[e] His father being now declared king, the title of MYRZA or prince of courſe belongs to the ſon, and by this name we ſhall hereafter call him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Reflexions on the different character of ALEXANDER *the* GREAT *and* NADIR SHAH. *Moral conſiderations on falſe glory. Motive* ALEXANDER *and* NADIR'*s invading* INDIA. NADIR *leaves* ISPAHAN *in* DECEMBER 1736. *Conduct of* HUSSEIN KHAN, *governor of* KANDAHAR, *and of the* AFGHANS. RIZA KOULI MYRZA *ſubdues the* OUSBEGS *of* BALKH *and* BOKHARA. *His indiſcreet conduct in* PERSIA. INDIAN *lords correſpond with* NADIR.

IN reviewing the expedition of NADIR SHAH into INDIA, the detail of which contains the moſt memorable part of this hiſtory, the reader will indulge the inclination, to which the ſubject naturally leads me, of making ſome compariſon between this enterprize, and that of the celebrated MACEDONIAN hero. It evidently appears, that theſe ravagers of the eaſtern world, ALEXANDER and NADIR, were actuated by the ſame predominant paſſion; an unbounded deſire of conqueſt: ALEXANDER indeed had the ſtrongeſt deſire of fame and glory; NADIR added to his delight in military atchievements, an inſatiable thirſt of accumulating riches. The one reigned by right of birth; the other by an uſurped power; a power which could not be ſupported without a great military force, nor that force without great treaſures. 1736.

As an ordinary effect of their intrepidity and rapid conqueſts, both were the idols of their ſoldiers; till NADIR became cruel and avaricious. ALEXANDER was moſt beloved; NADIR moſt feared. The one affected a love to mankind; the other did not ſo much as pretend to act upon principles of humanity. Both appear to us as objects of terror and aſtoniſhment; but whilſt ſome mixture of love or compaſſion is due to ALEXANDER'S memory; NADIR can only excite our hatred. The one had a real generoſity in his nature, and a nobleneſs of ſentiment, cultivated by a liberal education; the other, tho' ſuperior in natural parts, was cunning, deceitful, and illiterate.

1736. Had ALEXANDER been born to an humble fortune, perhaps he might have given greater proofs of true heroiſm, than as a mighty prince and conqueror; his heart was formed to a love of virtue, but not in a degree equal to his power. Though he was not cruel, he killed his intimate friend[f]; though continent[g], he burnt a city[h] to pleaſe a ſtrumpet. Is it a virtue to diſtreſs mankind! A conduct ſo injurious as his, may entitle him to the fame of a conqueror, but not of a hero. NADIR himſelf had qualities, which are ſometimes called virtues; yet we are ſure that no prince, without renouncing humanity, can be in love with ſuch a character; nor can future ages produce an imitator, without exhibiting a picture ſhaded with gloom and horror.

Human nature in all ages and countries is the ſame; but the ſecret cauſes by which one man differs ſo much from another, are not ſo apparent as the effects of different educations. There are few countries which have not had their ALEXANDERS or their NADIRS; men actuated by a certain heroic ſpirit of military enthuſiaſm; confounding all the rules of morality and religion; exerting a boundleſs power of doing miſchief; committing actions as much ſuperior to the comprehenſion of vulgar minds, as contradictory to all the precepts of true philoſophy; and, in ſhort, proving by one conſtant purſuit, that the corruption of human nature may carry mankind much farther to do evil, by the ſubſerviency of others as wicked, tho' not ſo brave as themſelves, than all the principles of virtue can lead us to do good, for want of virtuous inſtruments.

If we look back to paſt ages, we find the world diſtreſſed by men of this ſtamp, under the ſpecious name of conqueſt. How intoxicating is the love of fame in the breaſt of a prince, turned to war! whoſe genius is peculiarly military. The vain boaſt of triumphs ſeems to divert them from all thoughts of mortality, and tempts them to deify themſelves in their own eſteem. Amidſt the din of war, a true ſenſe of humanity is confounded, and heaven itſelf appears amiable only in its thunder.

3

The

[f] CLITUS. [g] With reſpect to the wife of DARIUS. [h] PERSEPOLIS.

The natural greatneſs of the mind in men born to empire, ſeems to find no object adequate to it, except in conqueſt and power. Men of underſtanding indeed diſcover the deluſion; age and experience opens their eyes, and brings them down to the level of other mortals; it convinces them that the exerciſe of reaſon, in whatever ſtation heaven has placed us, is the only ſolid glory: this paſſion for conqueſt will then appear in its true garb of diſtreſs and horror. Religion ſteps in to unveil this pretender; and by ſhewing us what the rule of the divine adminiſtration is, opens a ſcene of real and tranſcendent joys, which carries up the mind to the true ſource of greatneſs. 1736.

What juſt reaſon can be aſſigned for the invaſion of INDIA by ALEXANDER? Tho' his conqueſt of DARIUS may be cenſured by hiſtorians as raſh and extravagant, as unguided by experience, and unſupported by wiſdom; yet if we conſider the events previous to it, we ſhall find his conduct correſpondent with the rule of princes in later ages. The expedition of XERXES, and other attempts made by the PERSIANS to enſlave the GRECIAN republics, could not be eaſily forgotten. To prevent any future deſign of the ſame nature, was to take the firſt favourable opportunity of humbling the PERSIANS. There was no other way to ſilence their ſcruples, to gratify their jealouſy, nor to appeaſe their reſentment.

The PERSIAN monarchy in the reign of DARIUS began to ſink, in ſome meaſure, under its own weight. Wealth had created luxury; luxury, corruption; both theſe contributed to the diſunion and effeminacy of the people, and rendered them an eaſy conqueſt. If the unhappy circumſtances of PERSIA at that time, were a concomitant motive to ALEXANDER's invaſion, it did not invalidate the ſtronger reaſons of ſelf-preſervation.

NADIR had been leſs criminal, if the ſame motives had carried him into INDIA; but his expedition was certainly founded as much in avarice as ambition, or a fond notion of glory.

It is now two thouſand and eighty-ſix years ſince ALEXANDER made his expedition into INDIA. Will the fame of NADIR laſt ſo long? The

1736. arts and learning of GREECE, afforded the means of tranſmitting down the feats of the MACEDONIAN hero in a clearer manner, than the lights we receive from PERSIA under her preſent circumſtances, even in regard to what happened but as yeſterday. Some events however may be traced out, and afford that ſort of pleaſure, which the mind feels in the contemplation of objects of terror, whilſt we enjoy, in a calm repoſe, all the tranſporting charms of liberty, and all the happy effects of a well regulated government.

About the end of DECEMBER 1736, NADIR SHAH began his march with eighty thouſand men, of which the greateſt part were cavalry. In a ſhort time he was followed by a body of near thirty thouſand men, under the command of TÆHMAS KHAN, his lieutenant [i]. The ſhorteſt rout to KANDAHAR would have been by KHERMAN; but it was hardly poſſible that ſo vaſt an army could be ſupported in a barren and deſolate country: he therefore marched towards CASBIN [k], from whence he directed his courſe through KHORASAN; but we have no particular mention of him afterwards, till his arrival near KANDAHAR.

We have already given a ſhort account [l] of this province, the ſource of thoſe numerous calamities in which PERSIA was involved. What reputation the inhabitants had acquired as warriors, has alſo appeared in the courſe of this narrative. HUSSEIN KHAN, the brother of MAGHMUD, who was murdered by ASHREFF, commanded in this place; he was a ſoldier of approved reſolution, and actuated not only by the ambition of remaining independent, but alſo by the hopes of revenging himſelf of the PERSIANS for the ſlaughter of his countrymen. He ſtrengthened his alliance with the TARTARS of BALKH and SAMARCAND, and alſo with the ſeveral princes of the mountains, who were in hopes of ſcreening themſelves from the tyranny of the PERSIAN yoke. The force he had collected is ſaid to have been above thirty thouſand men; and the quantity of proviſions laid into the city of KANDAHAR was ſufficient for a very long ſiege.

The

[i] VEKIL OF VEKEEL.

[k] Some accounts mention his going by the way of KHERMAN, which is very natural to ſuppoſe, had that rout been practicable to a great army.

[l] Vol. III. Chap. III.

The KHAN, however, did not chuſe to ſhut himſelf up immediately within walls, but determined to try if he could not ſtop the progreſs of ſo mighty an army, conducted by ſo experienced a general. The great reputation of NADIR did not intimidate thoſe brave mountaineers the AFGHANS, who had ſo often triumphed over the PERSIANS. HUSSEIN KHAN therefore marched a large body of his men to the banks of a river, which is a branch of the HINDMEND, there to diſpute the paſſage. They ſupported themſelves for ſome time, but at length were obliged to retire, after the loſs of near two thouſand men. NADIR then advanced, in order to inveſt KANDAHAR. As he had no heavy artillery with him, it was impoſſible he ſhould reduce a fortification ſo advantageouſly ſituated, by any other means than by famine; he determined therefore only to blockade it. 1737.

HUSSEIN KHAN was not inſenſible of his danger; he offered to acknowledge NADIR's ſovereignty, and as a tributary prince to pay him homage, on condition he would retire to HERAT without committing any further hoſtilities. This was too mean an object for NADIR's ambition: their terms not being accepted, the beſieged reſolved to try the fortune of the arms. This extraordinary ſiege laſted till the cloſe of the year. In the interim, the garriſon made many ſallies, which coſt much blood on both ſides: one in particular, about the beginning of AUGUST, with the greateſt part of the AFGHAN troops, who attacked the PERSIANS with ſuch impetuoſity, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty they ſtood the ſhock.

NADIR cauſed a number of houſes to be built here, as he had done before at BAGDAT; aſſuring HUSSEIN KHAN, that he would not decamp till he had taken the place. The communication with PERSIA was ſupported, by means of the numerous detachments which were ſent to ſcour the country. In the interim, TÆHMAS KHAN, his lieutenant, arrived with a reinforcement of thirty thouſand men, ſo that he was in a condition to diſperſe all the flying parties which had incommoded his camp.

It is remarkable, that in the ſeveral ſallies made by the AFGHANS, they took a great number of horſes belonging to the PERSIANS, and carried

1737. them into the city: these being food familiar to them, contributed in a great degree to draw out the siege to an extraordinary length. NADIR being mortified with such delays, entered at length into a treaty with HUSSEIN KHAN, and confirmed him in his government, upon condition that he would surrender the town, and that his army might be recruited with those soldiers who had behaved so gallantly in the defence of the place.

During the siege of KANDAHAR, NADIR SHAH knowing the difficulties he should encounter, sent orders to RIZA KOULI MYRZA, whom he left at MESCHED, to march with a body of troops and attack the OUSBEG TARTARS of BALKH [m], in order to make a diversion, or at least to prevent any succours coming to the AFGHANS from that quarter. RIZA KOULI MYRZA succeeded in this enterprize; and from thence marched against the OUSBEGS of BOKHARA, who, in the interim, had made incursions into KHORASAN. Having brought these TARTARS also into subjection, he returned victorious to MESCHED.

This young prince was in nothing inferior to his father, except the article of experience and judgment, as he plainly shewed, now that he was at liberty to act as the sovereign of PERSIA. NADIR had appointed his brother IBRAHIM, governor of ADERBEITZAN, and made him independent of his son. He also charged the prince to undertake nothing of moment, as far as the distance of their situation, and the circumstances of affairs would admit, without the advice of his uncle IBRAHIM. The LESGEES, taking the advantage of NADIR's absence, had invaded SHIRVAN. IBRAHIM KHAN, who resided at TAVRIS, put himself at the head of a body of forces to oppose their progress, and coming to an engagement with them, he was killed in the field.

The

[m] This is the place where TAMERLANE received the ensigns of sovereignty in 1370. This great conqueror was born at KEISH, a day's journey from SAMARCAND, in 1336, and spread his conquests over the neighbouring countries into INDIA, as far as DENLIE, ASIA MINOR, SYRIA, and EGYPT, also submitted to him, and he was victorious over BAJAZET the emperor of the TURKS. He fell sick at ATRAR, upon his march against the TARTARS on the borders of CHINA, and died in FEBRUARY 1405. SAMARCAND in his time was a city of great note; but the [illegible] wars of that country, have reduced it [illegible] mean condition.

The prince being now free of all bars to his authority, diſplaced HATEM BEG from his government of ISFAHAN, tho' he was reputed a man of ſkill and integrity; and what added to this imprudence, he placed in his room a man of a low birth and cruel diſpoſition [a]. This action was followed by many others of a more oppreſſive nature, ſo that whilſt NADIR was victorious abroad, the people laboured under a tyrannical yoke at home: this ſerved to foment that fatal ſpirit of rebellion, to which the PERSIANS were too prone without ſuch provocation. 1737.

To return to NADIR, whom we left in poſſeſſion of KANDAHAR; during the tedious ſiege in which he had been engaged, ſome diſcontented lords, belonging to the MOGHOL's court, are ſaid to have held a treaſonable correſpondence with him; among theſe were NIZAM AL MULUCK, governor of DECCAN, who was at DEHLIE, and SAADIT KHAN, governor of AUDIH. NADIR, who was a maſter of intrigue and negotiation, being informed of the ſtate of the MOGHOL's court, and the feeble condition of that prince's army, flattered the paſſions of thoſe who were diſpoſed to revolt, or ſecretly to favour his deſigns; and amuſed them with promiſes of his protection, and other private advantages, which would accrue to them in conſequence of the ſucceſs of his enterprize.

Before NADIR could penetrate into INDIA, he had ſeveral difficulties to encounter. He was too good a general to make an abſolute declaration of his intentions [c], tho' they were apparent enough. It was near the middle of this year, before he began his march to CABUL. That he might leave no enemy behind him, ſome time had been ſpent in negotiating with the princes [b] of the country bordering on KANDAHAR, who were tributary to the GREAT MOGHOL, particularly thoſe of LANGOR, BOST, and GIARURA. To ſome of theſe he made large preſents, and others

[a] It is remarkable that the PERSIANS are very unſkilled in the art of phyſick, notwithſtanding their faith in phyſicians is very great. This governor happened to labour under a diſtemper, which after ſome months had baffled the ſkill of thoſe who undertook his cure, for which reaſon he ordered them to be fined, and ſeverely beaten; ſuch was the man whom the regent had preferred to the government of ISFAHAN. [c] Moſt accounts make him oſtentatious in this inſtance alſo, tho' it was by no means conſiſtent with his ſafety, either in regard to the TURKS, or the enemy againſt whom he deſigned to march. [b] Theſe are called RAJAHS, who are the chiefs of thoſe people who are diſtinguiſhed by the name of ZEMIDARS, which ſignifie poſſeſſors of land.

1738. others he engaged in his ſervice, ſo that he had a fair proſpect of extending his conqueſt to the utmoſt of his wiſhes; however, he endeavoured to perſuade the INDIAN OMRAS, that he conſidered the enterprize as impracticable.

NIZAM AL MULUCK was informed that NADIR directed his march towards CABUL: in order to intimidate NACIR KHAN, who commanded the province and city of CABUL, and SHERZIH KHAN, who was governor of the caſtle; he wrote to them, repreſenting the great difficulty of oppoſing the fortune and valour of NADIR SHAH; and as there was little reaſon to hope they would be ſuccoured by the imperial troops, they might do well to conſider, in what manner to provide for their own ſecurity. He wrote alſo to ZEKARIAH KHAN, the governor of LAHOR, who, as well as NACIR KHAN, was in the intereſt of DEVRAN KHAN, the great object of hatred to the two diſcontented lords. It was ſuggeſted to NADIR, that if he could ſecure a paſſage through CABUL and LAHOR, where the braveſt troops of INDIA were ſtationed, he would find little reſiſtance in penetrating as far as the capital.

The firſt place in NADIR'S rout was GHORBUND[r], which he garriſoned with his own people: from thence he marched to GHOZNAVI[s]. The PATTANS in their mountainous reſidences obliged the PERSIANS to keep continually upon their guard, and had frequent ſkirmiſhes with them.

The terror which had been ſpread at the taking of KANDAHAR, facilitated the conqueſt of places ſo much inferior in ſtrength. CABUL, eſteemed the gates of INDIA on that ſide, was the next object that

[r] Sometimes wrote GOUR-BEND. This is a defile in the mountains of SABLESTON, and the entrance into the country of GOUR, a diſtrict to the north of KHANJAN. Three days journey from thence is MIMEND. The other conſiderable places in this country are RUSTACK, and the forts of ZAFER and BAGLAM, near which it is pretended are rich mines. Between GHORBUND and ABIBARAN are ſeveral diſtricts of a delightful country. [s] This is ſometimes called GAZNIN or GAZNA. It is ſaid to be a commercial city, the diſtance of eight days journey from BAMIAN, a mountainous country, where the air and water are remarkably wholeſome and agreeable. The TURKISH writers repreſent, that in this country are no venomous animals, and that the people live to a great age. It was alſo the reſidence of the princes of the dynaſty of the GAZNEVIDS; though ſome, I believe, by miſtake place this city in KHORASAN. See Vol. III. Note, page 23.

that obſtructed his paſſage. This city[t] is ſituated on the river MEHRAN[u], well fortified, and very difficult of acceſs. It was formerly of great conſideration among the INDIANS, and had ſubmitted to that empire, upon condition of the ſovereign's being crowned there. NACIR KHAN, governor of the province, retired with his forces to PEISHOR: but SHERZIH KHAN defended the city with the utmoſt reſolution for a whole month; repulſing the attacks of the PERSIANS with his cannon and muſketry, and killing a great number of them. 1738.

If this general had been ſupported, he might have bid fair to oblige NADIR to abandon his enterprize. Before the reduction of KANDAHAR, he diſpatched couriers to NACIR KHAN, whoſe juriſdiction extended over the whole province; alſo to ZEKARIAH KHAN, governor of LAHOR, repreſenting his dangerous circumſtances, and intreating them to ſend him ſuccours. He alſo made the court acquainted with the progreſs of the enemy; but this produced no effect. Fear had ſeized the minds of theſe lords, and they determined to follow the advice of NIZAM AL MULUCK, and ſubmit to the fortune and victorious arms of the PERSIAN king.

NADIR carried on the ſiege of CABUL with great ſpirit. To convince the INDIANS of his determined reſolution to preſerve the exacteſt diſcipline towards them, as well as to ſupport his own authority, he cauſed the bellies of eighty of his ſoldiers to be ripped open, for no other crime than being preſent when one of their comrades forced an INDIAN woman.

NADIR erected batteries [w] upon the eminences near CABUL, with which he played inceſſantly upon the town; and, at length, having made a ſufficient breach, in the month of JUNE he took the place by ſtorm. Great part of the garriſon was put to the ſword; among theſe SHERZIH KHAN and

[t] Here are iron mines, and aromatics.

[u] This river is alſo called HAZARRE, or a thouſand, on account of the great number of towns, which are ſituated on the banks. It runs from the north to the ſouthward of this city, and then takes its courſe to the eaſt. After having paſſed NEKIERHAR, four days journey lower, and PEISHOR, two days journey farther, it goes to DEVAV, a great city, ſituated on the conflux of the waters of PERTCHIKIURE, which come from the mountains of KIOUBER in the weſt. Half a league from CABUL is a village and a fort of the ſame name.

[w] The artillery he had with him, was ſuch as was portable upon camels; of this we ſhall remark further.

1738. and his ſon fell a ſacrifice, though their valour ſeemed to have deſerved a better fate. The conqueſt of this place put the PERSIAN king in poſſeſſion of a conſiderable treaſure, with a great value in jewels, arms, cloathing, and proviſions. The former had been ſhut up in vaults ever ſince the reign of BAHR SHAH the GREAT MOGHOL; and were now of the greater conſequence to NADIR, as they enabled him to pay his army. Beſides, this was an earneſt of the vaſt acquiſitions his ſoldiers muſt certainly make, if they ſucceeded in the enterprize, which it was now apparent their king had reſolved on.

CHAP. XIX.

The news of the taking of CABUL *arrives at* DEHLIE. *Meaſures taken to oppoſe the* PERSIAN *army. Jealouſy between* NIZAM AL MULUCK *and* DEVRAN KHAN. NADIR *ſends an embaſſy and writes to* MAHOMMED SHAH. *The difficulty which* NADIR *encounters in going from* CABUL *to the banks of the* INDUS. PEISHOR *taken.* ZEKARIAH KHAN, *governor of* LAHOR, *acquaints the court of his ſituation. The* INDIAN *army marches to* KARNAL.

WHEN the news of the taking of CABUL arrived at the court of the GREAT MOGHOL, this prince with all his lords were thoroughly alarmed, and determined that there was no time to loſe in aſſembling an army to oppoſe the PERSIANS. What added to the terror of the court, were the advices of RAJAH [x] TCHI SENGUE, who commanded a body of warlike people [y] about CASHMIR [z]. This prince being entirely in the intereſt of DEVRAN KHAN, acquainted him, "That the enterprize "of NADIR SHAH had for ſome time appeared to him, as a ſtep con-"certed

[x] This is the title given to the feudatory INDIAN princes.

[y] Theſe are called RAIJPOUTS, and are eſteemed the beſt ſoldiers in INDIA. There are ſeveral tribes of them ſubject to the RAJAHS, of whom ſome are independent of the MOGHOL.

[z] CASHMIR, or as it is wrote CISHMIR and KICHEMIR, is bordered by LAHOR, TEBET, and BIDDUKSHAN, and is repreſented as a moſt delightful and fruitful country. The mountains with which theſe people are ſurrounded are ſo ſtrong a fortification, that, according to the TURKISH writers, hardly any of the eaſtern ravagers have penetrated into their country. They never felt any of the calamities which [illegible]NGHIA KHAN,

" certed with ſome of the lords[a] of the MOGHOL's court; therefore he 1738.
" muſt be on his guard; that SHERZIH KHAN was already fallen a ſacri-
" fice to his fidelity; and that NACIR KHAN had deſerted his province
" and fled to PEISHOR: at the ſame time he offered his ſervice to join
" the royal enſigns, and recommended to DEVRAN KHAN to undertake
" the command of the imperial army; whilſt ZEKARIAH KHAN did
" his utmoſt to oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy through LAHOR."

DEVRAN KHAN was ſenſible of the fidelity of this prince, and ſaw that nothing but military force could ſave the capital from plunder, or prevent all the fatal conſequences of war, againſt ſo formidable an enemy as NADIR. He therefore repreſented to the ſultan, the neceſſity of marching in perſon at the head of his army, as far as LAHOR, where he might join the KHANS ZEKARIAH and NACIR. This advice was approved by NIZAM AL MULUCK, who preſſed the execution of it; and to ſhew a greater tenderneſs for the emperor, he added that his majeſty ought not to expoſe his perſon, but to ſtop at LAHOR; whilſt himſelf, and the other chiefs, advanced with the army towards CABUL, to give the enemy battle.

The royal tents[b], with all the parade of an INDIAN monarch, were ordered to the gardens of SHALIMAR, a ſmall diſtance from DEHLIE. The GREAT MOGHOL himſelf was upon his departure, when DEVRAN KHAN, to the ſurprize of the whole court, gave orders to ſuſpend the intended expedition. This to all appearance aroſe either from his jealouſy that NIZAM AL MULUCK was in correſpondency with the enemy, or from his contempt of the counſels of a man whom he abhorred. But ſuch

was

the great TURKUMAN conqueror, ſpread over the eaſt. Their capital is called SERISKIER, and the river which paſſes through their country, is very conſiderable, and communicates with the TCHEKRAV above MULTAN. The inhabitants of this country are alſo remarkable for their vivacity, and the beauty of their perſons. The delicacy of their climate might naturally incline them to voluptuouſneſs, but they live much according to nature, their pleaſures being for the moſt part innocent and ſimple; they love dancing and muſick, and drink wine in moderation; they are idolaters of the religion of the MAGI, and many of them given to devotion and mortification. They are remarkable for the manufacture of the fine ſaſhes, in ſo great uſe all over the eaſt.

[a] There are ſeveral of theſe MOGHOL OMRAS, who are TARTARS and PERSIANS by extraction, and who ſeemed now to be the greateſt objects of the jealouſy of the RAJAH. [b] PEISH-KHANNA is the name given to the royal tents and their appendages in INDIA.

1738. was the diſunion of that court, on whom the unhappy INDIANS depended at this time for their ſafety.

NIZAM AL MULUCK being informed of ſo unexpected a change of counſels, returned to court, and renewed his intreaties, that the army might march to LAHOR: but the diſcord which reigned among the chiefs, confounded all their meaſures. The officers, who knew that DEVRAN KHAN was devoted to the intereſt of their maſter the GREAT MOGHOL, paid an implicit obedience to him, in all the expedients he tried to obſtruct the expedition. Thus it was difficult to determine, whether DEVRAN KHAN did not act more like an open traitor, than NIZAM AL MULUCK as a ſecret one.

NADIR having made himſelf maſter of CABUL, diſguiſed his future deſigns under the cloak of friendſhip. For this purpoſe, he ſent an embaſſador with a letter to MAHOMMED SHAH the INDIAN emperor. The contents are as follows:

"Be it clear to the enlightened mind of your high majeſty, that my "taking CABUL is entirely out of zeal for religion [c], and friendſhip for "you. I never imagined that a king of muſſulmen would be tributary to the wretches of DECCAN [d]. My ſtay on this ſide the INDUS [e], "is with a deſign, that when theſe infidels ſhall move again towards "HINDOSTAN [f], I may ſend a victorious army to drive them to the "abyſs of hell.

"Hiſtory abounds in proofs of the friendſhip which have ſubſiſted between our kings and your majeſty's royal predeceſſors. And now, by "MORTISA ALI I ſwear, that I neither had, nor yet have any other "view, than to expreſs my friendſhip, and ſhew my concern for religion. I always was, and will be a friend to your illuſtrious houſe, "whatever ſuſpicions you may entertain to the contrary."

It

[c] This he calls ISLAM, by which is meant ſafety; and here the word is meant to denote the MAHOMMEDAN religion. [d] The MAHARRATTAS, whom I have already mentioned as the chief diſturbers of the MOGHOL's empire. Theſe people are idolaters, and were at this time very powerful. [e] This river is called ATTOK, which is the name given by the ORIENTALS to the upper part of the INDUS. [f] The empire in general is called HINDOSTAN, but here more peculiarly applicable to the province of DEHLI.

It is very hard to reconcile the contents of this letter upon any prin- 1738.
ciple of common probity; but this indeed was what NADIR had the leaſt pretenſions to.

Though we have obſerved that CABUL is the key of the weſtern and northern parts of INDIA, there is a conſiderable tract of country between that city and the INDUS, which has been generally conſidered as the barrier. The cheapeſt and moſt practicable method for the execution of NADIR's deſigns, was to cultivate a good underſtanding with the people of thoſe quarters. The SAFIS, a tribe of PATTANS, in that country, are remarkable for their valour, and might have given him great trouble. He therefore entered into an alliance with them, making part of the plunder of CABUL the price of their friendſhip.

His next ſtep was to engage in his intereſt NACIR KHAN, who was at PEISHOR. Tho' this chief had not the courage to remain in or near CABUL, the frontier town of his diſtrict; yet he was not totally intimidated. The court ſent him no ſupply of troops, but aſſiſted him with a remittance of forty lacks[g] of rupees; by means of this ſum he might raiſe forces to join the PATTANS of that province, and oppoſe the enemy. In expectation therefore of further reinforcements from DEHLIE, he levied men, and prepared to fight the PERSIANS.

NADIR having left a ſtrong garriſon in CABUL, ſent ſeveral meſſages to NACIR KHAN, to invite him to a ſubmiſſion; and then continued his march towards PEISHOR. Paſſing the BEHAT[h], and the COU[i], he advanced into the narrow defiles, which cover that province. Here ſeveral INDIAN princes aſſembled their troops, cutting down trees, breaking up roads, and uſing other inventions to obſtruct his march. The frequent attacks of theſe mountaineers, incommoded him for near a whole month, during which ſpace he loſt a conſiderable number of men.

Thoſe,

[g] A lack is 100,000 rupees of 2*l.* 6*d.* conſequently this ſum makes 500,000*l.*

[h] CHOASPE.

[i] The antient name when ALEXANDER invaded INDIA was COPHANE. The borders of theſe rivers were then inhabited by the ARASOCI and other nations, mentioned by antient hiſtorians.

1738. Thoſe, who are verſed in military affairs, know that it is difficult for an army to paſs thro' defiles, even when there is no enemy to oppoſe it; but a long tract of mountainous country, inhabited by people accuſtomed to arms, muſt expoſe the moſt formidable body of troops to great danger. NADIR was at length obliged to enter into a treaty with their chiefs: he declared that he meant them no harm; and repreſented to them that they were certainly enemies to their own intereſt, by appearing in arms againſt him, when he was ready to receive them under his protection, to make them preſents, and even to engage them in his pay, that they might ſhare his fortune in the war.

It was a favourable circumſtance to NADIR, that the INDIAN court had kept theſe mountaineers in arrears for their pay. All the ordinary emoluments [k], which were wont to be allowed them, the corruption of the MOGHOL's miniſters had with-held during four years. The governors of the neighbouring provinces had deſerted their poſts, or neglected to arm themſelves in a manner ſuitable to the occaſion. Under theſe circumſtances, theſe people liſtened to NADIR's propoſitions, and at length not only opened a free paſſage to him, but numbers of them enliſted themſelves in his army, inſomuch that it ſoon became as ſtrong as when he left KANDAHAR. The SAFIS in particular, after they had joined the PERSIANS, conducted NADIR the ſafeſt and ſhorteſt way to PEISHOR.

It is natural to conclude, that the PERSIAN king expected that ſuch acts of hoſtility would alarm the INDIAN court, and not only occaſion the greater preparations to oppoſe him, but probably induce them to remove a great part of their riches. Whatever his motive might be, he ſent another embaſſy to the GREAT MOGHOL. MAHOMMED KHAN, TURKUMAN [l], was choſen for this purpoſe, and diſpatched in the month of AUGUST, with offers of friendſhip, and to demand the ſum of

[k] The revenues of this mountainous country being inſufficient to maintain a body of troops able to guard the frontiers, a certain ſum of money was appointed to be annually remitted them, but of late years it had been neglected.

[l] The ſame may be obſerved here of TURKUMAN as before of BELOUCHE, viz. that theſe officers are diſtinguiſhed by their countries.

of four crores [l], and four provinces [m]; as if NADIR by this means intended to enter into a compoſition, or to render the refuſal a more ſpecious pretence for further hoſtilities. 1738.

PEISHOR not lying directly in the rout, NADIR left the main body of his army, and marched with a detachment of cavalry towards that city. NACIR KHAN had collected a body of troops, but few of them had any experience: the greateſt part not ſuſpecting that the PERSIAN army could have paſſed the defiles with ſuch expedition, deſerted upon the approach of the enemy. NACIR was thus left in the neighbourhood of PEISHOR, *with ſeven thouſand men only*; however, he cauſed an intrenchment to be thrown up, and with this ſmall body he made a gallant defence for ſome hours; but the PERSIANS at length forced his lines. Moſt of thoſe who eſcaped the ſword, were taken priſoners. The neighbouring PATTANS being now diſpoſed to court the friendſhip of NADIR, delivered up into his hand NACIR KHAN, who fled from PEISHOR. The proof this general had given of bravery and fidelity, under ſuch great diſadvantages, engaged the eſteem of NADIR. He impriſoned him for ſome days, but afterwards promiſed him that protection which he had not received from the MOGHOL'S court; and by threats and fair words he won this brave man to his intereſt.

The effect of this victory was the taking of PEISHOR, which NADIR ſoon after entered in triumph. Nothing is ſaid concerning the riches of this city, tho' we muſt aſſign ſome proportion of wealth to it, ſince it is repreſented of conſiderable extent, and the capital of a province.

On the news that PEISHOR was taken, and that NADIR SHAH was preparing to paſs the INDUS, the MOGHOL'S court, already in great diſorder, was ſtruck with terror. From PEISHOR to DEHLIE is 450 miles [n]. In this diſtance are ſeveral rivers and difficult paſſes, which it was expected would retard the march of the PERSIAN army. The court was alſo flattered with hopes that ZEKARIAH KHAN, the governor of LAHOR, would

[l] A crore is 100 lacks, or 1,250,000 *l.*; conſequently this demand was for five millions ſterling.

[m] Theſe the PERSIANS call SOUBAHS. SOUBAHDAR is often uſed for governor or lieutenant of a province.

[n] They reckon it 202 coſs, each coſs of 4000 yards, or 2 ½ miles.

1738. would form an army capable of ſtopping the progreſs of the enemy. Theſe circumſtances however being inſufficient to remove their apprehenſions, a whole crore of rupees [o] was at once iſſued out of the treaſury for enliſting men; and five hundred carriage-guns of different kinds, with three thouſand harquebuſſes, were appointed for the expedition, beſides a great number of barbed elephants, with all other appurtenances of oriental warriors.

DEVRAN KHAN and NIZAM AL MULUCK, had the joint command of the army. This circumſtance alone was ſufficient to have rendered the beſt projected deſign abortive. We need not go ſo far as INDIA, to ſee the ſad effects of thoſe enterprizes, which are left to the joint management of men at enmity with each other. The third of DECEMBER they pitched their tents in the neighbourhood of DEHLIE. SAADIT KHAN, the governor of AUDIH, was ſent for to court to join the other chiefs, or to command the emperor's guards. This prince was already diſpoſed to retreat to CASSI BENARIS [p], but the chiefs entreated him to continue with them; repreſenting, that his abſence would be dangerous to the ſtate, under ſuch critical circumſtances.

ZEKARIAH KHAN, in the mean while, acquainted the court of the dangerous ſituation he was in; that ſeveral of the tribes in the mountainous country had joined the PERSIANS; and that if they did not ſend him an immediate ſupport, he could not make head againſt the enemy. The merchants and many other perſons of the greateſt property in LAHOR, in the mean while retired with their effects.

The pomp and ceremony of the imperial army of INDIA, was at length ſettled. This was one of the moſt brilliant and numerous, tho' not the moſt formidable, that had for many ages appeared in the eaſt. It conſiſted of near two hundred thouſand fighting men, of which a great part was cavalry. MAHOMMED SHAH, the GREAT MOGHOL, commanded in perſon, and nothing eſſential to the majeſty of his throne was wanting, except wiſdom, valour, and unanimity.

At

[o] 1,250,000 *l.*

[p] A city in the province of ALLAHABAD, famous for the devotion which is paid there.

At length, after ſlow marches, and receiving ſeveral reinforcements on 1738.
the road, they pitched their tents in the plains of KARNAL, fifty-five leagues from the capital. The young prince, SULTAN ACHMED, had an equipage prepared for him with great pomp and ſplendor, and was appointed commander of the van guard [s].

The circuit of the camp was very large [t], fortified with intrenchments, and a great part of it ſtrengthened with artillery. In the center were the emperor's own quarters [u]; thoſe of NIZAM AL MULUCK fronted them; and under him was the particular ordnance of the court, and the train belonging to it. On the right wing was DEVRAN KHAN, the prime miniſter, with five other lords under his command; KUMMIR O'DIN [x] KHAN, with three OMRAS, commanded on the left; behind theſe were many general officers, whoſe names would rather confound than delight the reader, and among them were the JAATS and AHEERS [y]. Though the ſovereign commanded in perſon, yet each lord ſeemed to be uncontroulable with regard to the reſpective body under him.

NIZAM AL MULUCK, inſtead of taking pains to encourage his ſoldiers, repreſented the valour and fortune of the PERSIAN king as irreſiſtible. It is probable, that the inexperience of the INDIANS in the art of war, muſt in any caſe have rendered them inferior to the veteran ſoldiers of NADIR SHAH; but if we conſider the unhappy ſituation of this numerous army, it ſeemed to be collected only for the deriſion of the PERSIANS.

[s] They call this the HAROL, which ſignifies either the van-guard, or the title of the officer that commands any body of forces, which advances at the head of an INDIAN army.

[t] Some writers mention it as twelve miles; but we cannot ſuppoſe they made intrenchments ſo far, or that they could defend ſo vaſt a circuit.

[u] Theſe are called MOURCHA, which ſignifies either barricadoes or intrenchments; from whence we may infer he had a particular intrenchment within the main circuit of the camp.

[x] Theſe words ſignify the moon of religion. This perſon was the vizir to the GREAT MOGHOL.

[y] Theſe are two different tribes of the RAJJPOUTS.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

NADIR's *pomp when he entered the* INDIAN *territories. His manner of paſſing rivers. Short account of the* INDUS: NADIR *paſſes this river.* JEMINABAD *and* LAHOR *taken.* NADIR *arrives on the plains of* KARNAL.

1738. VICTORY ſeemed now to court the ambitious NADIR: elate with the hopes of giving laws to this vaſt empire, he affected a more than common ſtate.

COSSEM KHAN was his ATHEMAT DOULET[w]: he, with the ARRIZBEGI[x], were the perſons through whom moſt of the orders were given, and petitions preferred. NADIR's ſentences, as at other times, were very ſummary, and his buſineſs diſpatched in a ſhort time. He required information of every thing that paſſed, and obſerved a ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice: he attended buſineſs very regularly, ſitting in his tent of audience till noon; and after repoſing himſelf a ſhort time, he returned again, and remained there till the evening. His CHIAUX[y] were kept to their duty more than uſual, to proclaim his victories as he paſſed along; beſides theſe and his great officers of ſtate, a conſiderable number of young men with ſtandards of red ſilk adorned with ſilver, were ordered to attend upon extraordinary occaſions.

The great preparations which were making at the MOGHOL's court to oppoſe his progreſs, ſeemed to give him no ſort of concern. On the contrary, he prepared himſelf to receive the homage of the INDIAN lords, and firſt of ZEKARIAH KHAN, the governor of LAHOR. After eſtabliſhing a garriſon at PEISHOR, he advanced to the banks of the INDUS, where
1739. he arrived the beginning of JANUARY. He had already taken his meaſures

5

[w] See Vol. III. page 41. Signifies ſupporter of power, or as ſome conſtrue it, the ſecurity of fortune; this is the ſame perſon whom I have mentioned in Vol. I. page 258. This man was alſo honoured with the title of NAZEM MUNAZEM, or him who ſets things in order; and MOTHER AL MULUCK, or worthy of a kingdom. [x] The preſenter of petitions. [y] The 900 guards mentioned in Vol. III. page 251.

ſures for the paſſage of that river. MAHOMMED BEG [z], was previouſly 1739.
detached with a conſiderable body of troops, to build a ſufficient number of boats, by means of which he might throw a bridge over the river. NADIR's ordinary method was to uſe two iron-chains [a], to which he fixed the ſkins of beaſts blown up; theſe floating upon the ſurface, ſupported the ſeveral parts of a ſmall bridge of timber, which he carried with him. This chain being ſecured on both ſides of a river, ſerved alſo to hold a regular bridge of boats.

The INDUS of the antients, now more generally denominated the SCIND, is one of the moſt conſiderable rivers in all ASIA: in INDIA only the GANGES exceeds it. In this place it divides the provinces of LAHOR and PEISHOR, and is commonly called the ATTOK, from a great fort on the eaſtern ſide. It is ſubject, like the NILE, to be overflown, and like that is one great cauſe of the fertility of its banks; here are alſo numbers of crocodiles. Its courſe from north to ſouth is computed to be 900 miles [b], or forty-two days journey. The ſeveral branches of it take different names; the chief of which are the SHOUB or SIELMEQUS [c], the SHANTROU [d], the RAVI [e], and the VIAH [f]; thus forming five ſtreams: the province of LAHOR is for that reaſon called PENGAB [g]; and is one of the moſt fertile countries in HINDOSTAN.

ZEKARIAH KHAN did not attempt to oppoſe the PERSIAN army at their paſſage of the ATTOK. His real deſign was to ſubmit, agreeably to the counſel he had received from NIZAM AL MULUCK; however, to ſave appearances, he made preparations for a defence. NADIR marched directly

[z] This is the ſame MAHOMMED afterwards made a KHAN, who was admiral of the CASPIAN in 1744, and of whom I received ſuch uncivil treatment. See Vol. I. page 222.

[a] Some writers mention that NADIR SHAH carried with him on camels a number of pieces of boats, to be joined upon occaſion, this may be eaſily confounded with the parts of a bridge, which he did carry with him for the paſſage of ſmall rivers, and which upon an extremity might anſwer his purpoſe over greater rivers.

[b] Theſe are ſometimes called leagues, but the map by no means allows above 12 or 15 degrees, conſequently it cannot exceed 900 miles; but if we take in the courſe of the ſeveral large branches of it, the miles may be eaſily reckoned leagues.

[c] The antient HYPHASES. [d] HYDASPES. [e] ACESINES.

[f] HYDRAOTES. [g] Or five waters.

1739. directly to YEMINABAD, a city of some note in the jurisdiction of ZEKARIAH KHAN. Here KULLINDER KHAN commanded with a body of ten thousand men, designing to oppose the PERSIANS. NACIR KHAN, who now had a post in NADIR's army, was entrusted with the attack of this city, which the PERSIANS took, and killed the INDIAN general. NADIR had sent to ZEKARIAH KHAN to invite him to a submission; the messenger was called before the general divan, and treated with some incivility. This however was but an effect of policy to disguise his resolution to surrender. He then marched out, and advanced above twenty miles from LAHOR, with an army of twenty thousand men. As soon as he heard the fate of YEMINABAD, he retreated back immediately to the capital of the province. Here he made a shew of defence, but after three days capitulated, on condition that the city should be spared.

This is the country of which PORUS was king, when ALEXANDER made his memorable expedition into INDIA. The neighbouring provinces were then ruled by their respective sovereigns, as we now find them divided by the jealousy and corruption of their chiefs. The scene of his first exploits in INDIA was on the banks of the GURÆUS[1], which he passed. The eastern side of this part of the INDUS was called TAXILA. Here we find that MOPHIS, king of the country, submitted to ALEXANDER, who confirmed this INDIAN-prince in his dominion, or in other words, did not commit any violence or injustice towards him. As an effect of the generosity of the GRECIAN hero, MOPHIS received the name of TAXILES. What future ages may think of modern histories, I am no judge; but there are numerous circumstances in antient accounts, even in authors of the highest reputation, which appear as the fumes of superstition or the creatures of fancy: we must not however be ingenious to undeceive ourselves in things of an indifferent nature, so long as they give us pleasure. We know how hard it is to come at the truth of things which happened yesterday.

PORUS, the sovereign of LAHOR, was exceeded by the skill and fortune, rather than by the valour of the MACEDONIAN conqueror; he led on his

[1] This is called at present NILAB, being the upper part of the INDUS.

his chariots of war and embattled elephants, diſdaining to yield. In this he ſeems to have judged ill; if he had ſacrificed to the pride of the GRECIAN inſtead of his own, and only paid the tribute of a formal ſubmiſſion, he might probably have ſaved the lives of twenty-three thouſand INDIANS, who are ſaid to have died that day in defence of their liberty. Under the notion of clemency, ALEXANDER then reſtored to him the kingdom which he could not keep; nor was there one good reaſon why he conquered it. The only true beneficent action he did, was to reconcile TAXILES and PORUS. 1739.

After ſubduing PERSIA, and all the country as far as this place, his ſoldiers, happily for the INDIANS, were at length tired of their knight-errantry, and inſiſted upon returning home; he therefore made this the boundary of his victory in the eaſt, though he had deſigned to march as far as the GANGES. He returned to BABYLON with the name of a conqueror, tho' with much leſs treaſure than NADIR SHAH. In his way home he ſubdued all the country on the banks of the INDUS. He ſent part of his forces in ſhips down that river into the INDIAN ocean; from whence they entered the gulph of PERSIA, and directing their courſe up the TIGRIS, arrived at BABYLON. Thoſe, who marched by land, croſſed SABLESTAN and SEGESTAN, not without ſeveral encounters with the inhabitants of thoſe countries, in which much blood was ſpilt. Thence traverſing PERSIS [k], which owned the conqueror, after a perilous and laborious march he arrived at the ſeat of his empire, having been abſent twenty months.

NADIR remained at LAHOR eight days, and refreſhed his army in the gardens of SHALIMAR [l]; he then paſſed the river SHOUL, and traverſing SERHIND and TANISEER, he arrived with forty thouſand men in the neighbourhood of a village called TILLAUVRI, which is not far from the plains of KARNAL. Here he halted to reconnoitre the ſituation of the INDIAN army, and determine what meaſures to purſue. After a march of twenty-five months for eighteen hundred and fifty miles [m], he was al-

[k] Now FARSISTAN.

[l] Theſe gardens are of the ſame name as thoſe of DEHLIE.

[m] This computation is from ISPAHAN, viz. from that city to KANDAHAR is reckoned 1040 miles, and from thence to DEHLIE 810.

1739. moſt arrived at the fruition of the deſired object. It was not difficult in a general of common ſagacity to foreſee, that ſo vaſt a multitude of people would not be able to ſupport themſelves long in that ſituation; and they muſt either diſperſe, or come to an engagement.

CHAP. XXI.

The number of the PERSIAN *army.* SAADIT KHAN *arrives at the* INDIAN *camp. He and* DEVRAN KHAN *begin the engagement.* NADIR*'s ſtratagem to draw the* INDIANS *to battle.* SAADIT KHAN *taken priſoner, and* DEVRAN KHAN *mortally wounded.* NADIR*'s manner of oppoſing the* INDIAN *elephants. Loſs of the* INDIANS *in the field. Diſtreſs of the* INDIAN *camp after the battle. Interview between* NADIR *and* NIZAM AL MULUCK; *alſo between the* PERSIAN *king and the* GREAT MOGHOL. *Numbers of the* INDIANS *ſlain in marauding.* MAHOMMED SHAH *delivers himſelf into the hands of* NADIR. INDIAN *effects ſealed up in* DEHLIE.

NADIR was now within ten miles of the INDIAN army. On the 12th of FEBRUARY he diſpatched HAHDGEE KHAN with his advanced guard[a], conſiſting of ſix thouſand of the beſt troops of KOURDISTAN. His whole army amounted to near one hundred and ſixty thouſand men, of which a third part were ſervants and domeſtics: theſe having collected a ſufficient number of camels, horſes[o], and mules in their rout, were all mounted, and ſome of them completely armed. Their women, being not leſs than ſix thouſand, were dreſſed with great coats[p] of crimſon cloth, after the manner of the men, and not to be diſtin-

[a] KOUEROL, which is the ſame as the HARROL of the INDIANS.

[o] There are in the highland country of KANDAHAR and CABUL a ſmall kind of horſes called TABOUS, which are very ſerviceable.

[p] Theſe are called BARRANNI; BARRA ſignifies rain, from whence the name of this coat is deriv[illegible]

diſtinguiſhed at a diſtance; ſo that the whole made a very formidable appearance. 1739.

NADIR finding the water at TILLAUVRI inſufficient to ſupply his ſoldiers, advanced two miles nearer the INDIAN army; and the 14th of FEBRUARY he encamped not far from the rear of DEVRAN KHAN, at a time when SAADIT KHAN was juſt arrived in the camp of the GREAT MOGHOL, with a reinforcement of twenty thouſand men. Whatever the nature of SAADIT's treaſon might have been, as ſoon as he ſaw his fellow-ſoldiers in diſtreſs for proviſions, and ready to be over-whelmed by a powerful and fortunate army, the impulſe of his heart carried him inſtantly to the tent of MAHOMMED SHAH, and with the freedom of a ſoldier he told his ſovereign, that there was no time to be loſt in giving battle to the PERSIANS; that if the other generals refuſed to follow him, he would commence the attack with ſuch part of his troops as were come up; deſiring rather to die ſword in hand, than fall ingloriouſly into the power of an enemy through the neceſſity of hunger.

NIZAM AL MULUCK, who ſeemed never to have intended to bring things to the extremity of a battle, oppoſed this counſel; pretending, according to the ſuperſtition of the MAHOMMEDANS, that the day was not fortunate; and as there was no neceſſity, they ought to defer it. SAADIT KHAN, though ſuſpected of being leagued with this treacherous miniſter, had too much ardour as a ſoldier to be reſtrained by any ſuch conſideration.

In the mean while, the ſix thouſand KOURDS detached by NADIR SHAH, through the deſire of booty, had fallen on a party of the INDIANS, and began to pillage the baggage of DEVRAN KHAN. There was no time to debate: SAADIT KHAN mounted his elephant, led on his forces, and repulſed the KOURDS. DEVRAN KHAN, now rouſed by a jealouſy of the glory of a man, whom he knew wiſhed his diſgrace, brought his men alſo to the charge immediately, with a deſign to ſupport SAADIT KHAN; ſo that the engagement grew warm on both ſides.

NADIR,

1739. NADIR, being appriſed of what was paſſing, ſent a body of troops to affiſt his van; and jealous of ſupporting the reputation of his arms in his firſt encounter, he detached three thouſand of his beſt troops in three different bodies, and placed them in ambuſh. He alſo ſent a ſmall body of five hundred men againſt DEVRAN KHAN, and another of the ſame number againſt SAADIT KHAN, in order to draw them into the field. Having then made a proper diſpoſition of the main body of his army, he advanced at the head of a thouſand AFSHAR horſe to direct the battle.

This diſpoſition had the deſired effect. The three thouſand men in ambuſcade falling upon the troops of SAADIT KHAN, put them to flight, and took their general priſoner. DEVRAN KHAN being followed by above twenty OMRAS and general officers, at the head of their reſpective bodies, ſupported his ground with great reſolution, till the engagement became more general. At length having received a dangerous wound, he fell extended upon his elephant, and was carried off the field. A report that he was dead, ſpread a diſmay through the whole INDIAN camp.

There was a circumſtance pretty remarkable, which I find omitted by thoſe who have given us an account of this battle. They mention indeed the elephants, but not what uſe was made of them. Theſe formidable animals were conducted at the head of the INDIAN army, and armed for battle: they have ever been repreſented in eaſtern wars as objects of great terror; their ſize, the caſtles upon their backs, and all the apparatus of war, have been deſcribed by hiſtorians, painters, and poets, in a light which fills the imagination with dread. NADIR was not ignorant in what manner the INDIANS fight, and therefore cauſed a number of ſtages to be made, and fixed acroſs two camels. On theſe ſtages he laid naptha, and a mixture of combuſtibles, and ordered them to be ſet on fire. It is well known with what terror theſe huge animals behold this element; ſo that inſtead of over-turning the PERSIAN army, at the approach

proach of the camels the elephants turned about, and put a great part of the INDIAN army into confuſion. 1739.

In this battle ſeventeen thouſand INDIANS were ſlain, among whom were a great number of perſons of the firſt diſtinction. Thoſe who fled from the field, ſpread terror and confuſion through their whole camp. Several took the opportunity of plundering the tents of their own commanders. Numbers, who attended the baggage brought into the field, fled towards DEHLIE, which afforded a favourable opportunity to the PERSIANS to kill and pillage at diſcretion. In this action not half of the INDIAN army was engaged, and only about fifty thouſand of the troops of NADIR SHAH; he loſt on his part only two thouſand five hundred men, who were interred the ſame night; but there were near twice as many wounded.

DEVRAN KHAN loſt his eldeſt ſon, and the wound he himſelf had received, proved mortal. His great loſs of blood occaſioned his fainting: when he came to his ſenſes, he had the additional affliction to find all his tents and baggage plundered; they were therefore obliged to carry him to the tents of MAHOMMED SHAH, to whom he had been reported as killed. The ſight of this favourite miniſter, under theſe melancholy circumſtances, gave the emperor the deepeſt concern. In a ſhort time after this lord died of his wounds, which ſeemed to give him leſs pain, than to behold his enemy NIZAM AL MULUCK triumphing in the favour of his maſter, and planning ſchemes to gratify his baſe reſentment.

In this confuſed ſtate of affairs in the INDIAN camp, NADIR SHAH advanced to the quarters of NIZAM AL MULUCK; this general had been joined by ſeveral other lords, who drew up their forces in a line of battle, as if they meant to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy. Night coming on, prevented the PERSIANS from purſuing their victory. The INDIAN camp was now ſo very thin, that from the emperor's own quarters to thoſe of NIZAM AL MULUCK, which was near two miles, hardly any people were found. In the night a grand conſultation was held, in which

1739. which NIZAM AL MULUCK related in the moſt affecting manner, the deplorable ſtate to which the fortune of that day had already reduced the court; expatiating upon the fatal effects of war, and the danger to which the emperor's perſon was expoſed; that every moment brought news of the death of ſome perſon beloved by his majeſty, and of great conſequence to the ſtate; his opinion therefore was to accommodate matters with NADIR SHAH, ſince they could no longer depend on the ſucceſs of their arms.

The INDIAN monarch, though no warrior, was more inclined to truſt to the fortune of a ſecond battle, than to conſent to an accommodation, which could be bought only at the price of immenſe treaſures, and muſt upon other accounts be inglorious. But thoſe on whom he moſt depended had been killed or dangerouſly wounded; ſo that no proper perſon could be found in whom to confide the command of his forces: nor was he leſs at a loſs as to the direction of his councils. Whatever ſuſpicions he might entertain of NIZAM AL MULUCK, the aſcendency which this miniſter had acquired, in ſome meaſure obliged him to truſt him implicitly. The death of DEVRAN KHAN, at once removed the bar to the ambition of NIZAM AL MULUCK, as well as the object of his hatred. At length full power was given to this miniſter, to treat with the PERSIAN monarch. AZIM ALI KHAN was appointed to attend him; of which NADIR SHAH was acquainted. The third day after the battle, the ceremonial being previouſly adjuſted, they pitched their tents between the two camps: and a PERSIAN officer was ſent to conduct theſe INDIAN lords into the preſence of NADIR SHAH.

The PERSIAN monarch received them in a gracious manner, cauſing them to ſit in his preſence; and then he ſpoke to this effect: "It is now "four months ſince I ſent my embaſſador to MAHOMMED SHAH your "maſter, to demand of him the payment of what is due to PERSIA; "why has he detained my people, and given me no anſwer; and at "length obliged me to make ſo long and laborious a march?" NIZAM AL MULUCK excuſed himſelf, alledging that he had been in his govern-

ment at DECCAN; that as ſoon as he came to court he had uſed his endeavours to bring the affair to a concluſion, but that his demands were greater than the empire could anſwer [s]. 1739.

NADIR ſmiled at the excuſe, and ſhewed him the accounts of the MOGHOL's treaſure; adding to this effect: "The grand-father of MAHOMMED SHAH and uncle of JEANGUIR, once demanded of PERSIA "the ſuccour of ten thouſand men. PERSIA ſent them, and bore the expence, on condition of being reimburſed; which has never yet been done. "By the treaties of alliance ſubſiſting between the two empires, they "ought reciprocally to ſupport each other. PERSIA having been long rent "with civil wars, the ſame force has been demanded of you; but no "anſwer was ever made. I have borrowed large ſums, for which I pay "intereſt, to retake from the TURKS the provinces which they had poſſeſſed themſelves of belonging to PERSIA. The neglect of the treaties "on your part, has been the cauſe of the misfortunes which have happened to PERSIA: who is to repair theſe injuries? I had intended to "put your emperor and his troops to the ſword, but I will favour them; "go and tell him to come to me, and we will make up our quarrel in "a convenient manner."

The 18th of FEBRUARY was accordingly appointed for the meeting of the two monarchs. MAHOMMED SHAH, emperor of HINDOSTAN, ſeated in a royal litter [t], iſſued from his camp, attended by AZIM ALI KHAN, GHAZI O'DIN KHAN, ſeveral eunuchs, and about two hundred horſe: he was met half-way by TÆHMAS KHAN, the lieutenant [u] of the PERSIAN king, who paid him the honours due to his rank. TÆHMAS then required the eunuchs and cavalry to halt; and attended the GREAT MOGHOL

[s] It is ſaid that NIZAM AL MULUCK went ſo far as to make him the ſervile compliment, that the deſire of ſeeing a king of ſuch renown, and to kiſs the duſt of his feet, was ſo great, that they purpoſely neglected his requeſt. The ORIENTALS deal much in hyperboles; but ſuch a compliment as this would rather have inſulted the common ſenſe of the prince to whom it was paid, than gratified his pride. According to what is related, this INDIAN did actually invite NADIR into INDIA, hardly foreſeeing what would happen.

[t] TAKHT REVAN, which ſignifies a moving throne.

[u] VAKEEL or REGENT.

1739. GHOL with the PERSIAN guard. At the entrance of NADIR's camp he was met by NESR ALI MYRZA, who was *sent* by the command of his father to conduct the INDIAN king to the royal tent. NADIR came forth to receive him, and having placed him on his left-side, after the ordinary compliments, he addressed him to this effect: "Is it possible "that you should have thus abandoned the care of your own affairs "to oblige me to make you this visit? I sent you two embassa- "dors; one of them contrary to the laws of all nations, and to the "friendship subsisting between us, was murdered at PEISHOR; nor "did your ministers send me any satisfactory answer to my letters which "reached your hands. When I entered your dominions, you never de- "puted any one to ask me who I was, or what my intentions were; "even when I advanced to LAHOR, and sent you a message of salutation, "I received no answer. When the commanders of your forces were "awakened out of their lethargy, instead of negotiating for a reconcilia- "tion, they met in a tumultuous manner to stop my progress. After- "wards you cooped yourselves up in your intrenchments, without con- "sidering, that if your enemy was stronger than you, it was impossible to "remain in that situation without being starved; and if he was weaker, "it was as dishonourable as unnecessary: at length, without any pre- "caution, you put all to the issue of one blow. Tho' I saw how you "were entangled, I made you offers of accommodation[s]; but you was "so ill advised, or puffed up with childish conceits, that you neglected "the terms of my friendship, and abandoned your own interest. Now "you see to what streights you are reduced by the victorious armies of "PERSIA. How little able you have been to govern your own people, "appears by your granting for several years a tax[w] to infidels, by whom "it ought to have been paid; and you have suffered them to over-run "your country.

"However, as the race of TEMUR have never done any remarkable "injury to the sovereigns of PERSIA, I will not take the empire from "you;

[s] I do not find any mention made of such offer after the INDIAN army was assembled on the plains of KARNAL, to which this seems to allude.

[w] This tax, called the JEZIAH, was wont to be paid by those who were not MOHAMMEDANS.

" you; I only mean to indemnify myſelf for the great expence of this 1739.
" war. After I have refreſhed my army at DEHLIE, and received the
" ſubſidy [x] which muſt be paid, I will leave you in poſſeſſion of your
" dominions."

MAHOMMED SHAH heard this ſpeech with that ſilence, which teſtifies ſorrow and confuſion; tho' it was ſome conſolation to receive aſſurance of his life and empire. Language ſo foreign to that of a court, could not but touch the heart of a king, whoſe weakneſs did not amount to inſenſibility. It may perhaps appear a little ſtrange, that the captive monarch ſhould be ſuffered to return to his own camp; but our ſurprize will ceaſe, if we reflect that NADIR had nothing to fear from his military force; and that as riches were his chief object, the more gently he conducted himſelf towards the INDIANS, till he ſhould arrive at DEHLIE, the leſs danger there would be of their concealing or deſtroying their treaſures.

MAHOMMED SHAH retired to his camp, in ſome degree relieved from his inquietude; tho' he knew not into what difficulties the avarice of the conqueror might plunge him. He ordered the dead bodies, which lay ſpread for near the ſpace of twelve miles, to be interred; but thoſe who were wounded and unable to move, were left to expire, there being no one that could afford them any ſuccour. At the ſame time, the military cheſt, with all the treaſure of MAHOMMED SHAH, was brought to NADIR.

Some of the INDIAN lords, who were forward to ingratiate themſelves with the conqueror, repreſented that there were many thouſand horſes and camels belonging to the ſoldiers and followers of the MOGHUL's camp; and as by his clemency theſe people had received quarter, they ought not to think it any hardſhip to deliver ſuch as his officers ſhould think proper to chuſe. To this he replied; that the bread of ſoldiers depended, in a great meaſure, on their horſes; and that the loſs of theſe in their preſent circumſtances, might expoſe them and their families to beggary; and as he had given them quarter, they ſhould depart unmoleſted.

[x] This is called PEISCUSH, or preſent from an inferior to a ſuperior. The ſum agreed for was twenty crores, which we ſhall have occaſion to mention.

1739. The INDIAN camp had been in great diſtreſs almoſt from the very time they aſſembled in the plains of KARNAL. Repreſentation being now made, that the ſutlers[y] by their extortions had raiſed the price of bread to an exorbitant degree, MAHOMMED SHAH ordered their ſhops to be broke open. This anſwered no other purpoſe, than to waſte and diſperſe the little proviſion that remained, ſo that a pound of wheat was not to be had for leſs than the value of four ſhillings. What had contributed to render the proviſions ſo exceſſive dear, was the vigilance of the flying parties of the PERSIAN army, who within forty miles round the camp, had at different times cut off not leſs than fourteen thouſand INDIAN marauders. A body of NADIR's troops, who at this time were ſent to TANISEER, ſlaughtered a great number of the inhabitants, plundered the town, and returned to their camp with a conſiderable booty.

The next day, after the bodies of the INDIANS were interred, NADIR ſent an officer with a detachment to take poſſeſſion of the equipage of the GREAT MOGHOL; cauſing it to be proclaimed in the camp, that every one might retire without fear of being ſtopped or inſulted. He alſo ſent his maſter of the ordnance [z], together with the officer who makes ſeizures [a], each with five hundred horſe, to ſeize all the ordnance and implements of war belonging to the emperor, and the lords of his court. He required moreover that MAHOMMED SHAH, with his ſon SULTAN ACHMED, and his empreſs MALIKA AL ZUMANI [b], with their domeſtics, ſhould repair to his camp: accordingly a royal tent was prepared for them in front of his own, and a thouſand PERSIAN ſoldiers were appointed as their guard.

In the mean while, NADIR SHAH diſpatched his lieutenant TÆHMAS KHAN to DEHLIE, with four thouſand horſe, to take poſſeſſion of the caſtle. SAADIT KHAN was charged with the care of the city, together with the houſes and effects of the inhabitants; ſtrict directions were alſo given

[y] BANIANS, who are moſtly trading people in INDIA. They are of a particular ſect, who believe the tranſmigration of ſouls, whether of man or beaſt; from whence they are very harmleſs in their conduct, leſt they ſhould injure one of their own friends or relations, in the appearance of a bird or beaſt.

[z] TOWPCHI BASHI.

[a] NÆSSACKCHI BASHI.

[b] This word ſignifies the queen of the times.

given him that no injury ſhould be done to any of them. This general on his arrival publiſhed the SHAH's orders, adding, that none of the citizens ſhould dare to moleſt the PERSIANS. The governor of the caſtle being informed of what had paſſed on the plains of KARNAL, made no ſcruple to pay an implicit obedience to the ſummons of NADIR's lieutenant, and admitted him, together with all his troops. The palace was alſo prepared for the reception of the PERSIAN monarch. All the valuable effects were ſealed up, and a liſt prepared of the OMRAS, and all the wealthy inhabitants of the city. 1739.

NADIR being maſter of all the jewels and of the military cheſts of the INDIAN camp at KARNAL, gave a gratuity of three months pay to every ſoldier in his army. He then made choice of two hundred pieces of cannon, with their carriages, out of the INDIAN ordnance, and ſent them with other effects under a ſtrong convoy to CABUL.

CHAP. XXII.

March of the PERSIAN *and* INDIAN *armies from* KARNAL *to* DEHLIE. NADIR's *entrance into* DEHLIE. SAADIT KHAN *deſtroys himſelf.* *Maſſacre of* DEHLIE. NADIR's *conduct after the maſſacre.*

THIS diſpoſition being made, NADIR began his march towards DEHLIE. His advanced guard [c] conſiſted of four thouſand men, who ſerved to eſcort his harram; twenty thouſand of his beſt cavalry guarded them at a proper diſtance. About two miles behind was MAHOMMED SHAH, attended by fifty of his principal courtiers, and eſcorted by twelve thouſand PERSIANS. The INDIAN lords, at the head of their reſpective troops, marched at the diſtance of a mile from each other, having great bodies of the PERSIAN army between them. NADIR himſelf brought up the rear, with the groſs of his army; the whole compoſed a number of near three hundred and fifty thouſand men [d], who covered near twelve miles in length, and three in breadth.

In

[c] KNOLLYS. See Vol. I. page 249.

[d] Before the late engagement the INDIAN army alone was near this number, including all their attendants; but a great part of theſe had been diſperſed, and numbers of them killed.

1739. In this manner they proceeded five days march, till they came to SONPUT. This place, together with PANIPUT, and ſeveral villages, were plundered by the PERSIANS, as they marched along. From SONPUT they advanced to NIRELA, and the next day [c] in the evening they arrived at the gardens of SHALIMAR. NADIR SHAH declined going into the city in the night, as well on account of the ſafety of his perſon as the regard to his ſtate. He ordered MAHOMMED, the GREAT MOGHOL, ſeated in a royal litter, and preceded by his ſtandards, with two hundred of the ſervants of his court, to march forward into the city. Theſe were convoyed by four thouſand PERSIAN horſe, who accompanied the INDIAN monarch to his apartment [d].

NADIR encamped with his forces without the gates. The next morning he marched with great circumſpection thro' the city to the caſtle [e], attended by a body of twenty thouſand men. MAHOMMED SHAH had already given notice to the inhabitants, when the PERSIAN conqueror was to enter the city [h]; ordering that all the houſes and ſhops ſhould be ſhut, and according to the awful reſpect ſhewn to eaſtern kings, that no perſon ſhould preſume to appear in the ſtreets. This order was executed with great exactneſs; for of the vaſt number of inhabitants, there were no ſpectators of his triumphant entry: a mournful ſilence reigned throughout the city, as if it preſaged ſome dreadful calamity.

NADIR having taken poſſeſſion of the caſtle, was immediately attended by MAHOMMED SHAH, towards whom he behaved with great civility. He diſtributed his troops into their quarters, and took all the neceſſary meaſures that due obedience ſhould be paid to his orders, till the articles of peace were regulated with NIZAM AL MULUCK. In the mean while, he enjoined his NÆSSAKHCHI [i] in the ſtricteſt manner, that whoever preſumed to injure any of the natives, ſhould be puniſhed with the ſevereſt baſtonading, or with the loſs of their ears or noſe, according to the nature of their offence.

The

[c] The 7th of MARCH. [d] This they call the AEYSH MAHL, which ſignifies the place of joy. [e] Caſtle is uſed ſynonimouſly for caſtle, citadel, or palace, viz. place of defence.
[h] This was the 9th of MARCH. [i] Theſe are the order of ſoldiers who are charged with the puniſhment of offenders as already mentioned.

The PERSIANS, however polite in their manners, are but rude in their 1739.
apparel and cuſtoms, compared with the delicacy of the INDIANS. In NADIR's army were alſo many TARTARS, whoſe rough and ſavage aſpects made ſuch impreſſions on the INDIANS, that they avoided as much as poſſible all communication with them.

SAADIT KHAN, who ſeems to have been a man of warm paſſions, and of an inconſtant diſpoſition, was now as forward to recommend himſelf to his new maſter NADIR, as he had been ambitious at KARNAL, of exerting himſelf in the defence of his true ſovereign. He went out to the gardens of SHALIMAR to meet NADIR SHAH, and accompanied him till he alighted at the palace of DEHLIE. This lord had flattered himſelf with hopes of being admitted to a private audience, in which it was preſumed he intended to recommend certain meaſures for the intereſt of the PERSIAN king. NADIR, who had always diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his penetration, ſpoke with great harſhneſs to him, and demanded why he had not begun collecting the ſubſidies.

This reproof touched SAADIT KHAN to the heart; his jealouſy was fired, and he concluded that NIZAM AL MULUCK had done him ſome ill office. Under this anxiety of thought, it is probable the remembrance of his infidelity recoiled upon him. He knew that to be ſuſpected by a prince of ſuch a temper as NADIR, was but a remove from ruin. Under theſe circumſtances he retired; and deſpair drove him to the fatal expedient of taking poiſon.

Such is oftentimes the fate of men who ſwerve from the paths of honour, and bewilder themſelves in the mazes of iniquity. Thoſe principles which intice them to forſake the intereſt of their country, in order to gratify a private paſſion or reſentment, hardly ever ſupport them under a change of fortune, or the preſſure of calamities.

What had paſſed on the plains of KARNAL, and the havock created by the ſword and famine, was but a prelude to the diſtreſs which heaven permitted to fall upon the unfortunate inhabitants of DEHLIE. The next

1739. day [k] after NADIR's arrival, was a feaſt of ſacrifice [l] with the INDIANS, and the new-year's-day of the PERSIANS. NADIR's lieutenant, TÆHMAS KHAN, ſent ſeveral PERSIAN horſemen of the NÆSSICKHCHI to the granaries [m], ordering them to be opened, and the price of corn to be fixed. This not being done to the ſatisfaction of the proprietors, occaſioned the aſſembling a mob. SAYD NEAZ KHAN, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, put themſelves at their head, and killed the PERSIAN horſemen.

After this unwarrantable act, a report was ſoon ſpread that NADIR SHAH was ſlain [n]; upon which the tumult increaſed. All idle perſons and men of deſperate fortunes joined them, and marched towards the caſtle. A party of PERSIAN horſe, which was poſted near the entrance, were forced to retire with ſome loſs. In the mean while, ſeveral PERSIANS whom SAYD NEAZ KHAN had taken as a ſafe-guard to his houſe, were treacherouſly ſhut up in a room, and burnt alive. The ſoldiers who were lodged in the palace of the deceaſed DEVRAN KHAN, and other great houſes and caravanſerais, were obliged to retreat to their quarters, and remain under arms the whole night. The cannon and harquebuſſes on the ramparts of the caſtle, as well as thoſe in the houſes occupied by the PERSIANS, were diſcharged at the mob, but without quelling the inſurrection.

The next morning NADIR, at the head of a ſtrong party of his troops iſſued out of the palace, with an intention to ſuppreſs the tumult. Whether the diſcovery of the dead bodies of ſeveral of his ſoldiers, fired him with the deſperate reſolution of ordering the inhabitants to be maſſacred, does not clearly appear [o]. If we may judge from his natural cruelty and inſatiable avarice, it is not unreaſonable to believe, that he at once delivered up the city, without any limitation, to ſlaughter and pillage. His orders

[k] The 10th of MARCH. [l] EID ZOHA. [m] Theſe are called PAHR GUNJH.

[n] Theſe people ſeem to have been in the ſame circumſtances of deluſion as the PERSIANS, in their rebellion five years afterwards at ASTRABAD, who firſt took arms, and then flattered themſelves, and even reported, that NADIR SHAH was dead. [o] Mr. FRAZER, who has given the authorities for moſt of the tranſactions in DEHLIE, ſays, that the ſoldiers were firſt ordered [illegible] do any harm to the innocent. But ſoldiers are bad judges in ſuch caſes.

orders were in an inſtant obeyed: a place taken by ſtorm never exhibited a greater ſcene of horror. The PERSIAN ſoldiers having ſpread themſelves, broke open houſes and palaces, ſlaughtering with an unbridled fury, with very little diſtinction of age or ſex. This bloody ſcene extended above ſix miles [p]. 1739.

Many who had fled from the neighbouring country to take refuge in the city, aſſembled in a body to defend their lives; theſe were joined by jewellers, money-changers, and rich ſhop-keepers. The phyſician of the court put himſelf at their head, and deſpair ſupplied the place of ſtrength and reſolution. Theſe unhappy people fought bravely for ſome time, but being ſo little accuſtomed to the uſe of arms, they had only the ſatisfaction of dying ſword in hand.

LUTF ALI KHAN conducted this bloody buſineſs in one quarter of the town: SIRBULLIND KHAN, an INDIAN lord, whoſe reputation and venerable aſpect had charms not to be reſiſted, ruſhing from his palace, proſtrated himſelf before the PERSIAN general, and repreſented that the inhabitants of that part of the city were innocent; and begging for their lives, he offered to pay a large ranſom, which was accepted, and the ſlaughter ceaſed.

In the mean time NIZAM AL MULUCK was ſtung with remorſe at the ſight of ſo ſad a ſpectacle, and conſcious of his guilt, in being in ſome meaſure the occaſion of it [q], went and threw himſelf at NADIR'S feet, intreating his mercy, for the unfortunate remains of ſo flouriſhing a city. After a torrent of reproaches, NADIR gave orders for the recall of his ſoldiers.

This carnage laſted from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon; about four hundred of the PERSIANS were killed, but of the citizens not leſs than one hundred and ten thouſand. All the jewellers and goldſmiths ſhops were plundered, and many of them ſet on fire. Private houſes had no better fortune: and the palaces of the great partook of the common

[p] DEHLIE is repreſented to be a very large city.

[q] Becauſe of his treaſonable correſpondence, which is ſuppoſed to have been a motive to the invaſion.

1739. common ruin. Next morning the inhabitants were ordered, under the ſevereſt penalties, to bury their dead. Theſe unhappy people had not even time to diſtinguiſh the MAHOMMEDANS from the PAGANS: the latter, however abominable to muſſulmen, even after death, were either tumbled into one common grave, or conſumed together in funeral piles, after the manner of the PAGANS.

As to thoſe who were ſhut up in houſes, numbers of their bodies were not brought out for burial till after NADIR's departure: what horrid ſpectacles they were then, the reflection is ſhocking to humanity. Many who were jealous of their honour killed their wives, and then committed murder on themſelves. Numbers were burnt in their houſes, eſpecially women and children; nor did the ſword ſpare even the infant at his mother's breaſt. Horror and deſpair had plunged the inhabitants into ſuch diſtreſs, that near ten thouſand women threw themſelves into wells; of theſe, ſome were afterwards taken out alive[r].

When the ſlaughter began, the mob who had been the apparent occaſion of it diſappeared, and left the innocent to ſuffer. The leading people of this fatal tumult had been ſo infatuated, as to think that a mob might effect what the imperial army of INDIA had hardly any chance of executing: ſeveral of theſe were taken priſoners, among whom was SAYD NEAZ KHAN: NIZAM AL MULUCK and the vizir pleaded hard for him, but in vain; NADIR ordered his belly to be ripped open, and in this deplorable manner he expired.

The priſoners brought before the PERSIAN king amounted to ſeveral thouſands; of theſe the greateſt part were women, of whom many, contrary to the diſcipline he had eſtabliſhed, and contrary to the ſacred rights of humanity, had upon this occaſion ſuffered the moſt infamous treatment. NADIR ordered them to be conducted to their reſpective houſes, where they retired in circumſtances of the deepeſt diſtreſs.

The

[r] One remarkable incident happened of a certain man who burnt twenty women of his family; and then finding that the ſoldiers had miſſed his houſe, went out to acquaint them [illegible] large effects; theſe the ſoldiers took, [illegible] him unhurt, upon which he murdered himſelf.

The amount of the loſs in houſes, effects and riches, in ſo rich a city, muſt have been very conſiderable: but in ſuch a confuſion, it is probable many valuable things were loſt. Large ſums were brought into NADIR's treaſury; and the booty which the PERSIAN ſoldiers reſerved to themſelves, as afterwards appeared, was very important. 1739.

Before the maſſacre at DEHLIE, a party of the PERSIAN forces had been ſent to ſeize the cannon at the palace of an INDIAN lord. Theſe had been alſo treacherouſly ſet upon and murdered, by a body of TARTAR MOGHOLS [s]. NADIR being informed of this accident, ſent a large detachment, who fell upon thoſe people and ſlaughtered near ſix thouſand of them. The PERSIANS brought away the ordnance, together with three hundred perſons of the chief rank among them. NADIR cauſed the heads of theſe immediately to be ſtruck off, and their bodies to be thrown into the RETEE [t].

After this, a proclamation was made, that all perſons ſhould purſue their employments, and that none of the PERSIAN ſoldiers ſhould hurt or moleſt them. To prevent the ordinary conſequences of ſuch calamities, NADIR gave orders that the granaries ſhould be ſealed up [u], and guards ſet over them. He alſo commanded ſeveral parties of cavalry to inveſt the city, that no perſon might go out of it without a particular licenſe. Many whom hunger and miſery induced to leave this dreadful ſcene, were arreſted by the PERSIAN guards, who cut off their ears or noſes.

So ſevere a conduct was ſoon followed by the diſtreſs of many thouſands, who had been plundered of their money and effects; for proviſions were become exceſſive dear. The people who were not the proper inhabitants of the city applied to NADIR SHAH, chuſing rather to die by a ſpeedy effect of his anger, than to periſh more ſlowly with hunger. Theſe went to him in a body, and in tears of anguiſh and diſtreſs proſtrated themſelves, and begged for bread. Even the cruel NADIR was touched with

[s] Theſe were called MOGHOL POURA. [t] The river of DEHLIE. [u] In PERSIA as well as RUSSIA, the ſealing up doors by means of a bit of [illegible]ing with ſome bees-wax impreſſed with a ſeal, is looked upon more ſacred than any le[illegible]

1739. their misfortunes, and gave them liberty of retiring to FERID-ABAD, in order to buy proviſions.

CHAP. XXIII.

Male adminiſtration of RIZA KOULI MYRZA, *regent of* PERSIA. *Rebellion of the* ARABS *againſt the* PERSIAN *government. Conduct of the* PERSIAN *embaſſador at* CONSTANTINOPLE.

DURING this ſcene of miſery and devaſtation at DEHLIE, PERSIA ſtill groaned under a tyrannical government. RIZA KOULI MYRZA the regent, by practiſing all the arts of cruelty and extortion, ſoon incurred the hatred of the people. In order to cover his rapacious avarice, he took the ſpecious name of a merchant: thus he arbitrarily monopolized the raw ſilk on his own terms, and obliged the manufacturers to take it of him again at the price he was pleaſed to impoſe. In the vanity of his heart he wrote to his father, to acquaint him that he had gained a million five hundred thouſand crowns [w], without doing wrong to any man. NADIR, jealous of ſuch extraordinary abilities in his ſon, deſired him to explain himſelf. RIZA KOULI anſwered, that he had turned merchant, and obtained it by commerce, of which he ſent him a certificate [x].

The SHAH, who was not to be eaſily impoſed on, repreſented to him the injurious conſequences of ſuch proceedings; that if he had ſo great a paſſion for trade, a fiſhery [y] ſhould be appointed him, from whence he might draw a conſiderable profit, without invading any property, or diminiſhing the advantages which belonged to fair traders, by whom nations

[w] 750,000. [x] This certificate of his fair-dealing was indeed teſtified by the merchants of RESHD, but it was obtained by compulſive means, through the interpoſition of his principal agent HANGHEE SADDUK. [y] At a time when the ſucceſs of the herring-fiſhery ſeems to be ſuſpected by many, it may be worth while to reflect on this advice of NADIR SHAH; his reaſon ſeems to ariſe from reaſon and nature, without diſcourſe or argument; for fiſh is [illegible] an article of the food of the PERSIANS, that it [illegible]range that NADIR ſhould ſtumble on the thought.

tions are enriched. Upon the whole, he was ſo much diſpleaſed at his ſon's adminiſtration, that he ſent a decree, confirming all governors and magiſtrates in their poſts, till he ſhould return from INDIA. This incident was ſo contumelious a reproach to the prince, that it laid the foundation of his rebellion, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate. 1739.

The PERSIANS rejoiced at the ſucceſs of their king over the INDIAN monarch; and the value of the riches taken from that prince were repreſented as ineſtimable. What tended to flatter them into the hopes of HALCYON days, was the arrival of a meſſenger, who brought a decree [a] from NADIR SHAH, which exempted them from taxes for a whole year, to commence from the tenth of MARCH. The officers, who had begun to collect the money, were ordered to refund; which they performed accordingly.

Amidſt all theſe rapid victories, PERSIA was not free from alarms. Some of her ſubjects in the ſouth took the advantage of the SHAH's abſence, and threw off their yoke. NADIR had ordered ſeven of his ſhips to be prepared in the PERSIAN gulph, for ſome expedition which he had meditated [b]: the PERSIAN commander took this occaſion to ſeize the barks belonging to the HOULES, a tribe of ARABS, and would not permit any of them to croſs the ſtreight of ORMUS. This gave occaſion for a revolt, in which the PERSIAN ſhips were taken by theſe ARABIANS, and ſeveral of them burnt.

TAGHI KHAN, the governor of SHIRASS, ſoon after embarked a great number of men in ſmall veſſels [b], and went to chaſtiſe the rebels. In the mean time the MASCATS, another tribe of the ARABS, fitted out ſeveral ſhips, apprehending a viſit from the PERSIANS. Their fears were ſoon removed, for the HOULES were an over-match for their enemies: the PERSIAN forces were repulſed, with the loſs of near two thouſand of their men. This event however encouraged the IMAN [c] of MASCAT,

[a] This is called a RAGAM. FIRMAN, which is a name given it by ſome, I imagine to be more proper to INDIA. [b] It is ſaid they were intended to ſail round, and go up the INDUS, to carry troops to join the army, which was on the march to INDIA; how practicable this might be, I cannot determine. We are told ALEXANDER came down the INDUS. [b] Tarranquins.

[c] The chief of the ARABIANS on the oppoſite ſide of the gulph.

1739. MASCAT, to accept the offer of a defenſive alliance with the HOULES, in order to ſupport their mutual liberty, againſt all attempts of the PERSIANS.

But the greateſt uneaſineſs was created by the TURKS. NADIR, notwithſtanding his great diſtance, endeavoured to poſſeſs them with the terror of his arms; that they might not take advantage of his abſence to make a peace with the RUSSIANS and invade PERSIA. He ſent two embaſſadors to them from KANDAHAR, of whom the laſt, MAHOMMED RIZA KHAN, arrived at CONSTANTINOPLE in NOVEMBER laſt year; and in the beginning of the next month was admitted to an audience of the grand ſignior. The KHAN aſſured his highneſs in the moſt elegant and exalted terms, "That his maſter, the SHAH, had the greateſt deſire to live "in perfect amity with him; but that the means of doing this was to "yield up DIARBEKIR, in the ſame condition it was in during its ſubjec-"tion to the PERSIAN empire[a]. He alſo pretended to the UPPER ARME-"NIA: and further inſiſted that the grand ſignior ſhould renounce his alli-"ance with the GREAT MOGHOL; that the new fortifications made at "BAGDAT, ſince the proviſional treaty of peace, concluded three years "before, ſhould be demoliſhed; and that the PERSIAN caravans ſhould "have every where a free paſſage in the dominions of the OTTOMAN "empire."

Theſe demands appearing capricious as well as inſolent, the TURKISH miniſters, though they dreaded a war with PERSIA, ſeemed by no means diſpoſed to comply with them; on the contrary, they declared that the grand ſignior would make a peace with the emperor of the ROMANS, and the empreſs of RUSSIA, and engage in a freſh war with PERSIA, rather than ſubmit to ſuch diſhonourable conditions. What added to the diſtreſs of the port, was the rebellion of SARE BEN OGLOU in NATOLIA. NADIR might flatter himſelf into a belief of ſelling his friendſhip for ſome very valuable conſideration; but his intereſt was to keep the TURKS deeply engaged in a war with RUSSIA; that ſo he might find them the

[a] This country was formerly part of MESOPOTAMIA, and the ancient boundary of the kingdom of ASSYRIA.

the more weakened, when he ſhould return to fill up the meaſure of his victories over them. 1739.

NADIR alſo ſent an embaſſador to the court of ST. PETERSBURG, with which he had a more natural intereſt: that court was alſo very ſenſible how little his friendſhip was to be depended on; however, it was ſome ſatisfaction that he was very far from having entered into any cloſe connection with the TURKS, tho' he was not engaged in a war with them.

CHAP. XXIV.

NADIR *gives his ſoldiers a gratuity. Contribution of* AUDH *brought to* DEHLIE. SIRBULLIND KHAN *appointed chief collector of the contribution. His declaration to* NIZAM AL MULUCK. *Barbarous treatment of the* INDIANS *in collecting the contributions. The value of the treaſure collected.*

WE return now to INDIA, to ſee how the mighty ravager conducted himſelf after ſpilling ſo much innocent blood: we ſhall find that his avarice was in no reſpects inferior to his cruelty. Theſe indeed are vices twin-born from the regions of darkneſs, and increaſe in malignity in proportion to the power by which they are ſupported.

NADIR being now maſter of vaſt treaſures, paid his army their arrears*, and in order to encourage them to bring in their plunder, he added a gratuity alſo. Theſe payments were made in his own coin, which was ſtruck upon this occaſion, with this inſcription:

" NADIR the maſter of fortune, and the king of kings, is the moſt " powerful prince of the earth."

The reverſe was:

" May GOD perpetuate his reign."

The

* Twelve months pay for 140,000 men, at the ordinary computation is 3,400,000*l.* but it is probable that the [illegible] he found at CABUL, enabled him to pay his army on the occaſion of his taking that place; and conſequently he did not diſburſe near ſo large [illegible] on this occaſion.

1739. The great business was the collection of those vast sums, which NADIR exacted of the GREAT MOGHOL and his subjects. TÆHMAS KHAN had been charged to watch over the conduct of SAADIT KHAN This INDIAN general[e] had accepted the commission of compelling his countrymen to deliver up their riches, agreeably to the respective quotas to be levied on them: upon his decease, his nephew, MAHOMMED KHAN, was called upon to deliver in an account of all his uncle's effects, which amounted to a million sterling[f]. Great part of this was brought from his government, under an escort of a thousand PERSIAN horse: but the sum was two hundred and fifty thousand pounds short of what SAADIT KHAN had engaged to pay.

SIRBULLIND KHAN, already mentioned as the person by whose intercession the massacre was stopt in his quarter, though poor, was much respected: the corruptions of the court had not tainted his integrity. NADIR excused him from paying any tax himself, as knowing his inability; but these very reasons rendered him worthy of the greatest trust; hence he was appointed to collect from other people the free gift[g], and contribution[h]. His age and infirmities in some measure obstructed his vigilance: NADIR therefore acquainted him, that if he meant to avoid the weight of his anger, he would do well to exert himself. Two hundred soldiers were assigned him as a guard in the execution of this office. He was also charged to oblige all persons in public employment[i], to produce all the horses, camels, and elephants, belonging to the crown, that proper choice might be made of them for the use of the PERSIAN army.

This KHAN saw to what extremities he must reduce the people in the execution of this dangerous commission: it is some consolation however to honest men under such circumstances, that they may alleviate a misfortune, and execute their charge with humanity; when a person of a different character would aggravate the evil, and render it still a heavier weight to the calamitous. SIR-

[e] I use the terms general and lord as words that are familiar and emphatical, and convey, I think, a stronger idea than the INDIAN names. It may however be proper to remark, that NABOB or NAVOB is the ordinary title given the OMRAS or INDIAN lords who are governors; NAIB signifies a deputy or viceroy, such as SAADIT KHAN we may suppose was in AUDIH.

[f] Eighty lacks of rupees, or one million sterling. The sum promised was [illegible] or 100 lacks, equal to 1,250,000 *l.* [illegible]

[g] This they call the PEISHCUSH.

[h] This is called the BEAVRA, or forced contr[illegible].

[i] MANSUBDARS.

SIRBULLIND KHAN ſaw to what extremities he muſt reduce the inhabitants in the execution of this dangerous commiſſion, but there was no remedy; TÆHMAS KHAN and MUSTAPHA KHAN[k], preſſed him to enter upon the office aſſigned him. This old man, in the fulneſs of his heart, addreſſing himſelf to NIZAM AL MULUCK, who was then preſent, ſpoke to this effect: "I have long foreſeen the misfortune which has overtaken us; I often repreſented to the emperor the danger of an eaſy ſecurity, and deſired him to ſend a truſty embaſſador with large preſents into PERSIA, to divert the ſtorm which was breaking out on that ſide. We might have appeaſed the reſentment of the SHAH, and lived with him in friendſhip: but the courtiers would not liſten to my advice; they imagined that what I ſaid was only with a view to ſome private intereſt; and whilſt they neglected to ſecond my counſel, they propoſed no kind of expedient to avert the impending danger: at length, we ſee to what a calamitous iſſue things are reduced. For my own part, had I been poſſeſſed of money, I would have ſent it all to KANDAHAR, rather than have given any provocation to the SHAH to have made ſo extraordinary an expedition. However, we have now no remedy; we muſt raiſe the immenſe ſum of twenty crores[l], if the money is to be found, which GOD only can tell whether it be poſſible to raiſe under the preſent diſtreſſed condition of the capital." 1739.

NIZAM AL MULUCK made no reply to this ſpeech. In whatever degree he was anſwerable for the misfortune, he ſaw too plainly the miſtake he had committed, as the ſum demanded of himſelf was no leſs than one crore and a half[m]. He, together with the vizir and DEVRAN KHAN, had received one crore[n], which had been iſſued out of the royal treaſury for the military cheſt, when they marched againſt the PERSIANS: of the two former NADIR demanded an account of this ſum; he alſo ordered them to ſend to their reſpective

[k] This was the man to whom I was under ſuch ſingular obligations in the camp of NADIR SHAH in MARCH 1744.

[l] Twenty five millions of pounds. This was the ſum which NIZAM AL MULUCK after the battle of KARNAL had agreed to pay the SHAH, excluſive of the jewels, gold, plate, and other rich goods belonging to the emperor and the lords of his court.

[m] 1,870,000*l.*

[n] 1,250,000*l.*

1739. respective governments for all the treasure, belonging either to themselves or the crown.

NIZAM AL MULUCK represented, that when he left DECCAN, he established his son as his deputy, giving him possession of all his effects; that all the world knew his son had refused to deliver up his government, and was no longer in his power; that NADIR himself was only capable of reducing him and the rebellious princes of DECCAN.

This answer, which was in some degree true, served to divert the SHAH from pursuing a point in its nature hardly practicable. It was very plain he thought it unsafe to penetrate deeper into the country, lest he should never get out of it again. KUMMIR O'DIN KHAN, the vizir, was treated with greater severity. He endeavoured to elude the payment of the large contribution demanded of him; NADIR therefore caused him to be exposed openly to the sun, which is reckoned a punishment contumelious as well as painful, and in that country dangerous to the health. At length, he extorted from him a whole crore of rupees [o], besides a great value in precious stones and elephants. His secretary, who was also a man of fortune, was taxed in a large sum, and delivered to SIRBÜLLIND KHAN, in order to be tortured if he did not pay it; however, he prevented this persecution by a dose of poison.

A sum of money was now issued out of the treasury for the charge of fifty horsemen, who were ordered to march to BENGAL, with directions to the governor to send seven crores of rupees [p]. The VAKEEL [q] of that kingdom, who was then present at DEHLIE, said that so much money would load a string of waggons to reach from thence to the capital. Being severely beaten for his sarcasm, he went home, and revenged himself by taking poison together with his whole family.

The INDIANS of distinction seem to have a great sensibility of such indignities. The gentler treatment to which they had been accustomed, gave

[o] 1,250,000 *l.* [p] 8,750,000 *l.* I never heard that he received any money from thence, tho' the province was alarmed. The riches of DEHLIE seemed to [illegible] up the measure of his avarice, great as it was. [q] The lieutenant governor.

gave them very different impreſſions from what the PERSIANS received 1739.
in the like circumſtances.

It is not eaſy to conceive with what rigor theſe contributions were levied; and what numbers deſtroyed themſelves with their own hands, to be delivered from the tortures and puniſhments with which they were threatened. No barbarities were left unpractiſed: the tax impoſed was ſtrictly exacted, tho' in the computation of the reſpective abilities of the inhabitants, numerous miſtakes were made; beſides, as there were no purchaſers of their effects, except the PERSIANS, hardly a quarter of their value was paid. The conſequence of this was, that many left their effects and their families at the mercy of the PERSIANS, and made their eſcape to ACBAR ABAD. Here the governor received them, determined to reſiſt any of the flying parties who ſhould appear in his diſtrict; for which purpoſe he appointed ſix thouſand horſe to protect thoſe who fled to him for ſhelter.

Mean while all the inhabitants of any conſideration were obliged to declare under their hand-writing, what money and effects they were poſſeſſed of; that if it ſhould be afterwards found they had concealed any thing, they might be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity; and in this proceſs a ſuſpicion was often deemed a proof.

The commiſſioners appointed for the collection ſat every day, from ſun-riſe till evening, during which time there was very little reſpect ſhewn to perſons. At length, about the middle of APRIL, the ſum of four crores[r] was extorted from the merchants and common people. In the royal treaſuries were found three crores[s] of money; but in the inward vaults, which had been ſhut during many reigns, they diſcovered a much larger value[t]. Nor muſt we forget to mention the peacock throne, which was rich in jewels, and valued at a prodigious ſum. The whole of the treaſure amaſſed upon this occaſion, is eſtimated as follows:

[r] 5,000,000 *l.* [s] 3,750,000 *l.* [t] The different relations we have had of this extraordinary regine, are for the moſt part upon the marvelous; and ſeveral writers have ſuffered their imaginations to travel much faſter than their judgment. The moſt probable account values

1739.		Crores.		*l.*
	Jewels taken from the GREAT MOGHOL and the INDIAN lords ——	25	—	31,250,000
	The peacock throne, with nine others, alſo ſeveral weapons and utenſils all garniſhed with precious ſtones —	9	—	11,250,000
	Gold and ſilver plate, and money, which NADIR melted down into large ingots	30	—	37,500,000
	To theſe we may add the rich manufactures of many *kinds* ——	2	—	2,500,000
	Cannon, warlike ſtores, furniture, and other valuable commodities ——	4	—	5,000,000

CHAP. XXV.

NADIR *marries his ſecond ſon to the niece of* MAHOMMED SHAH. *The preſents he makes to that prince and the* INDIAN *lords. The* GREAT MOGHOL'S *ceſſion of all the country on the weſt of the* INDUS. NADIR'S *advice to that prince. He begins his march from* DEHLIE, *and muſters his army. Value of the damage done the* INDIANS.

WHILST NADIR was thus glutting himſelf with treaſures, he affected to eſtabliſh a laſting friendſhip with the GREAT MOGHOL. With this view he demanded CAMBARCHE, the niece of that prince, in marriage for his ſecond ſon NESR ALI MYRZA. Their nuptials were accordingly conſummated on the 27th of MARCH, with ſome appearances of that ſatisfaction which ſuch alliances generally create in the

theſe riches at ſeventy millions ſterling. I could never come to the bottom of the matter in PERSIA. The PERSIANS talked only of heaps of treaſure, and thouſands of camels, and mules loaded with gold and ſilver and precious ſtones. Mr. FRAZER'S account, which I adopt, makes it ſeventy crores, which ſeems to be the higheſt calculation that the nature of the thing will warrant; this is equal to eighty ſeven millions five hundred thouſand pounds of our money. Of this ſum, thirty ſeven millions five hundred thouſand pounds is computed in gold and ſilver.

the families of princes. MAHOMMED SHAH was in no circumſtances to make his niece preſents ſuitable to his own rank, or her condition; however, he ſent her fifty thouſand rupees in money [u], and as much in jewels. NADIR himſelf added to theſe the value of five hundred thouſand rupees in jewels [v]. 1739.

It might be preſumed that this alliance was calculated for political ends, either to preſerve his authority over the INDIANS, or to retain ſome part of his conqueſt by right of dowry to the young princeſs: but this was not the caſe. NADIR knew that he could not ſupport his ſovereignty over ſo vaſt a country, and govern a people ſo different in manners, tho' of a genius milder and more tractable than the PERSIANS [x], by any authority but what was derived from the ſword. So far then as ſuch authority could be extended, he might reaſonably hope to ſupport his conqueſt, and farther than this, alliances by marriage could be of no ſignification. Beſides, the marriages of MAHOMMEDAN princes, who take ſeveral wives, ought to be conſidered in a different light from thoſe of chriſtian kings; tho' it is a means ſometimes uſed among them, as well as chriſtians, to conſolidate their friendſhips.

Perhaps NADIR took this occaſion to make the firſt mention of his deſire that the province of CABUL, with all the country on the weſtern banks of the INDUS, from the fort of ATTOK, ſhould be yielded to him. And what difficulty could the trembling monarch of HINDOSTAN make, to abandon his right to thoſe provinces, whilſt he found himſelf in the hands of a conqueror, who conſidered it as an act of clemency to grant him even his life?

During theſe tranſactions in DEHLIE, the PERSIANS marauded for thirty or forty miles round the capital, plundering the villages, laying waſte the fields, and killing the inhabitants who reſiſted. Numbers of theſe were left without any provender for their cattle, which added greatly to their diſtreſs.

NADIR,

[u] 6,250 *l.* [v] Five lacks, or 62,500 *l.* [x] The PERSIANS are polite and gentle in their deportment, and ſubmiſſive to their ſuperiors; but their taſte for arms, and their repugnance to be ruled by a tyrant and uſurper, has been proved ſufficiently.

1739. NADIR, who was determined that due obedience ſhould be paid to all his decrees, remembred that which related to the conformity of the SCHIAS and SUNNIS. The faſt and repentance, in commemoration of the death of IMAM HASSAN, and IMAM HUSSEIN [y], falling out in the month of MARCH, he cauſed it to be proclaimed, that no perſon whatever, either of his own army, or of the ſubjects of the GREAT MOGHOL, ſhould preſume to mention the words TAZIA [z] or MATIM [a]. This however did not hinder, but that ſome of his own ſoldiers, in the camp without the city, beat their breaſts, and made lamentations according to their former cuſtom; for which they were ſeverely puniſhed.

The ſcene was now drawing near a cloſe: the grandeur of a great prince and a conqueror called on NADIR for ſome acts of generoſity. Thoſe INDIAN lords, who had been employed in uſing their influence and authority to collect the vaſt treaſures he had amaſſed, were intitled to ſome regard, tho' it were but a mark of honour.

For theſe, forty-two preſents [b] were provided, conſiſting each of three, four, or five pieces of gold or ſilver ſtuffs, according to their reſpective ranks. Thoſe appointed for NIZAM AL MULUCK, SIRBULLIND KHAN, the great vizir, KUMMIR O'DIN KHAN [c], and MAHOMMED KHAN BUNGUSH,

[y] The two ſons of ALI often mentioned. [z] Signifies mourning. [a] Death.

[b] Theſe are called KHALAET, which properly ſignifies perfect or accompliſhed; a robe of honour given by the king. See Vol. III. page 43. [c] Signifies the moon of religion. They tell a remarkable ſtory of this perſon, with relation to his ſon BEDREDDIN KHAN, who diſappeared at KARNAL, and it was reaſonable to preſume fell in the field of battle. Soon after this time, the RAJAH of PERVER met a young man in the habit of a DERVISH, whom he took to be BEDREDDIN KHAN, whoſe perſon was well known to him. The RAJAH having a great friendſhip for the vizir, ſent an expreſs to court, to inform that miniſter of the joyful news that his ſon was found. In the mean while, the young man was received by the RAJAH with the utmoſt politeneſs and affection, and cloathed in the richeſt manner, agreeable to his ſuppoſed quality. The vizir was tranſported with joy at the news, and received the compliments of his friends upon this happy occaſion. Orders were diſpatched immediately to the RAJAH, to ſend the ſuppoſed ſon to court; a rich palankin was prepared, and mounted on an elephant, and the young man was conveyed with great pomp by five hundred horſe as far as ACBARABAD, where he was received with great marks of diſtinction by the ſoldiers and domeſtics, whom the vizir had ſent to meet him. From thence he was conducted to the capital. The young man was no ſooner arrived there, than the vizir received him with open arms, and ſhed over him the tears of joy and paternal affection: the reſemblance was great, that the vizir entertained

GUSH, an INDIAN general, who had alſo been of great ſervice to the PERSIAN monarch, were much more conſiderable, conſiſting of rich veſtments, a turbant, with a PERSIAN ſabre and knife, the hilts of which were mounted with gold, and enameled. This ceremony was performed on the firſt of MAY, and all the OMRAS were ordered to attend at the general divan, where MAHOMMED SHAH their own ſovereign was preſent: they were alſo entertained with the morning's repaſt [d].

Upon this occaſion, the GREAT MOGHOL himſelf received marks of the friendſhip of the PERSIAN monarch, viz. a crown, a bracelet [e], a fillet [f], and a girdle richly ſet with jewels. To theſe were added an enamelled dagger [g], and two ſwords, the handles of which were ſet with jewels. NADIR SHAH with his own hand placed the crown on the GREAT MOGHUL's head, as if he meant to ſignify, that to his arm the INDIAN monarch was indebted for his dominions. He alſo declared with an imperious air, which at once argued his contempt of the INDIANS, and the moſt lofty conceit of his own power, that if the lords of the court were omiſſive in their duty, he would call them to ſevere account; that they ought to conſider him always as near, ſince he could be with them in forty days from KANDAHAR.

Whether

entertained not the leaſt jealouſy, but imagined his ſuppoſed ſon jeſted, when he declared in the ſame manner he had done to the RAJAH, that he was not BEDREDDIN KHAN. The deluſion was carried ſo far, that he was introduced to the harram, and preſented to his ſuppoſed mother. His countenance, his ſtature, his voice, and air, perſuaded this lady alſo that he was her ſon; but as he ſtill perſiſted that he was not, her curioſity induced her to examine his body, as BEDREDDIN KHAN had a mark in a particular place. What pen can deſcribe her ſorrow and confuſion, when ſhe diſcovered that he was not her ſon! The indignity of a ſtranger being brought to her apartment aggravated the misfortune; whilſt the young man complained of their incredulity, by compelling him to ſubmit to ſuch an extremity. Under theſe circumſtances, the vizir offered to adopt him as his ſon, and by that means at once wipe off the ſtain, and enjoy ſome part of the pleaſures of a father, in the ſociety of one who ſo much reſembled his real ſon. But neither was this practicable, for the true father of this young man, who thought he had loſt him, was no ſooner informed of the adventure, than he reclaimed his ſon, with the joy that is natural to a tender parent.

[d] This we may call either breakfaſt or dinner, as their cuſtom is not to eat till about 11 o'clock, after which the PERSIANS only eat once more in the day. See Vol. I. page 229.

[e] Which the INDIANS call BAZOUBUND.

[f] This they call a SIRPEACH, which is wore round the turbant: perſons of great diſtinction generally have them ſet with precious ſtones.

[g] Which the INDIANS call CUTTAR.

1739. Whether any particular ceremony was performed upon the MOGHOL's yielding up the INDIAN dominions which NADIR claimed, does not appear; but this seems to be the proper place to mention the extraordinary ceſſion made to the PERSIAN king, which was as follows:

" May GOD perpetuate the reign of NADIR SHAH, who is exalted as " SATURN [h], in glory like MARS [i], in power like ALEXANDER [k], ſove- " reign of the kings of the earth; the ſhadow of the Almighty, and " the refuge of ISLAM [l], whoſe court is the heavens [m].

" The miniſters [n] of the ſultan, who is merciful, and the emperor, " who is auguſt, formerly ſent embaſſadors to us to treat of certain de- " mands, with which it was our purpoſe to comply. The embaſſador " MAHOMMED KHAN TURKUMAN, not long ſince arrived here from " KANDAHAR to remind us thereof; but our miniſters having delayed " the embaſſador, and poſtponed anſwering the letters of his ſublime " majeſty, it at length produced ſuch a miſunderſtanding between us, " that his victorious army came into HINDOSTAN. We encountered in " the fields of KARNAL, where victory aroſe in the eaſt of his unde- " clining fortune.

" As his ſublime majeſty is mighty as JUMSHEID [o], the greateſt of the " TURKUMANS, and the ſource of goodneſs as well as valour; relying " on

[h] SATURN is 87,000 miles diſtant from the earth; hence, tho' it appears ſo ſmall, aſtronomers mention it as twenty times the diameter of the earth. The ring, which ſurrounds his middle like an arch, contains forty-five diameters of the earth. How does the mind labour to reach the vaſt expanſe; yet is not this more to infinite ſpace than a moment to *eternity!* [i] There is alſo a compariſon made with MARS, viz. " impetuous as the god of war:" but this ſeems to be dropping the figure with regard to MARS as a planet. Being placed between JUPITER and the SUN, it might imply power and glory. It is true, a more apt meaning might have been cloaked, if the INDIAN or PERSIAN aſtrologers agreed with thoſe of EUROPE, with regard to the appearances of MARS, with a ruddy troubled light, ſuppoſed to be encompaſſed with a cloudy atmoſphere; if they had dared under the notion of a panegyric to tell a bold truth. [k] Some writers have tranſlated this, " the ſecond ALEXANDER;" and from thence make many remarks on the ſuppoſed model which NADIR followed, though his motives ſeem to have been very different from that of the GRECIAN hero. [l] By this is meant the true faith. [m] It is hard to ſay which of theſe three compliments is the greateſt bombaſt, or the moſt ill applied. [n] As they often uſe the third perſon plural; when they ſpeak of princes, they alſo expreſs an awful reſpect, not by aſcribing their actions to their miniſters, but ſubſtituting the inſtrument for the agent.

[o] This was one of the antient kings of PERSIA, remarkable for great

" on his honour, we had the ſatisfaction of an interview, and enjoyed 1739.
" the unmixed delights of his heavenly company. After this we came
" together to SHAJEHANABAD [p], where all the jewels and treaſures of the
" emperors of HINDOSTAN [q] were preſented to him: and, in compliance
" with our requeſt, his ſublime majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to accept
" of ſome of them.

" But in regard to the illuſtrious family of JURGHIN [r], and the honour
" he profeſſes for the original tree of TURKAN [s], out of the greateſt of
" his ſoul, and the overflowings of his humanity, he has been pleaſed
" to reſtore to us the crown and gem of HINDOSTAN.

" In conſideration of this act of generoſity, which no father has ever
" ſhewn to a ſon, nor any brother to a brother, we make over to him
" all the countries to the weſt of the river ATTOK [t], and of that of
" SCIND [u], and NALA SUNKRA [w], which is a branch of the SCIND. That
" is to ſay, PEISHOR with its territories; the principality of CABUL and
" GAZNA, HAZARIJAT, the mountainous reſidences of the AFGHANS,
" with the caſtles of BUCKHOR, SUNKOR [x], and KHOUDABAD; the paſſes,
" territories, and abodes of the TCHOUKIS and BALLOUCHES, with the
" whole province of TATA: alſo the caſtle of RAM; the towns of
" CHUN, SUMAWALI, and KETRA, with all the caſtles, towns, ports,
" villages, and open country, from the firſt riſe of the river ATTOK,
" with all the country comprehended within its branches, till it empties
" itſelf into the ſea at NALA SUNKRA.

" Theſe we freely give up to the dominion of the powerful ſovereign
" of PERSIA, and from hence forward our officers and ſubjects ſhall
" evacuate the ſame, and reſign the property and government to the PER-

" SIAN

[p] DEHLIE. [q] INDIA. [r] This word is ſometimes wrote GOURGAN; but they both equally allude to TEMUR BEG or TAMERLANE, of whom the INDIAN emperors are deſcended.
[s] This alſo I underſtand to allude to TAMERLANE. [t] I have already obſerved that this is part of the INDUS. [u] Part of the country on the weſt of the INDUS often goes under this denomination, as well as the INDUS itſelf. [w] This is ſometimes called NALE SENGURE, which ſeems to be the iſland between the INDUS and what DE LISLE calls the river DIMTADE.
[x] This is ſometimes wrote SEKIR.

1739. "SIAN king, to be diſpoſed of at his pleaſure. We renounce all our "right to command, controul, or collect revenues, in any of thoſe do- "minions. But the caſtle and town of LOHRE BENDER, with all the "country to the eaſtward of the river ATTOK, and of the waters of the "SCIND, and NALA SUNKRA, ſhall, as before, belong to the empire of "HINDOSTAN. Dated at SHAJEHANABAD the fourth of MOHIRRIM, "1152[1]."

This acquiſition of dominion was an object of no leſs conſequence, than all the treaſures of which NADIR robbed the MOGHOL, particularly the province of PEISHOR; if we may judge from the great revenues which he drew from that conqueſt: nor was there any other danger of his loſing it, than what naturally aroſe from the circumſtances of his own government. The ſeat of the PERSIAN empire, which he had eſtabliſhed in KHORASAN, was alſo calculated for the ſupport of his conqueſt, had providence permitted him to eſtabliſh by the arts of peace, what he had thus acquired by the ſword. But as the GREAT MOGHOL became a prey to NADIR by the fault of too great gentleneſs; ſo NADIR's exceſs of ſeverity neceſſarily rendered him odious, and conſequently haſtened his fall with a more prodigious ruin.

NADIR had now returned the INDIAN diadem to the legal poſſeſſor, ſeemingly with a much greater indifference, than ALEXANDER reſtored to PORUS, the kingdom which he had conquered from him, with an additional territory. MAHOMMED SHAH was not indeed an object of jealouſy, as he ſeemed no ways inclined to war, or to commence any future conteſt: whereas PORUS ſignalized himſelf in military atchievments. ALEXANDER indeed abandoned INDIA entirely; probably becauſe he could not keep it, and therefore can claim the leſs merit: NADIR retained a conſiderable ſhare of his conqueſt, on a preſumption that he could keep it. Shall we ſay that honour or generoſity was concerned in either caſe? Little more than what ariſes from the virtue which is paſſive, becauſe there is no temptation or inclination to offend.

NADIR

[1] DEHLIE, the 2d of APRIL, 1739.

NADIR being now prepared to march back into his own country, 1739.
took occaſion to give a leſſon of advice to the GREAT MOGHOL; and under the cloak of friendſhip, to recommend ſuch a conduct as tended moſt to the ſecurity of the new conqueſt, which had been juſt yielded to him. It is ſaid he ſpoke to this effect: "You ought by all means to "take poſſeſſion of the lands aſſigned for the ſupport of your governors [a], "and pay each of them their appointments with ready money out of "your treaſuries. Let none of them keep any forces of their own: you "will then have the leſs occaſion for a numerous ſtanding army; how-"ever, you ought to ſupport a body of ſixty thouſand choice cavalry, "at the annual expence of ſixty rupees [*] each. Every ten men ought to "have one corporal [b], every ten corporals one captain [c], and every ten cap-"tains one commander of a thouſand [d]. Acquaint yourſelf with the coun-"try, family, and name of all your officers, with their reſpective merits and "inclinations. Never ſuffer either them or the common ſoldiers to be idle "or inactive. When occaſion requires, detach a ſufficient number of your "troops under the command of a brave, faithful, and experienced offi-"cer; but when he has executed his buſineſs, recall him. By this "means you will have the leſs to fear, with regard to the conſequences "of too great a power.

"As to the great officers of your court, be careful in your choice of "them, and do not preſer thoſe who are artful, ambitious, or ſelf-"intereſted. Were I to chuſe them, they would ſhew you very lit-"tle reſpect in my abſence; but you may depend, if any of them "prove rebellious, I will ſend to chaſtiſe them. If neceſſary, I can be "with you myſelf in forty days from KANDAHAR [e], and never reckon "me far off."

This advice ſeemed to be in ſome meaſure agreeable to NADIR's own maxims of government; tho' the frontiers which he had to guard required

[a] Theſe are called JAGUIRS, or lands appointed for payment of the ſallaries of the reſpective governors, which naturally gives them a kind of ſovereignty, by collecting the taxes, and converting them to their own uſe. The advice here ſeems to be very juſt.

[*] Sixty rupees, or 7 *l.* 10 *s.* is but 30 crowns of PERSIA, whereas NADIR's ſoldiers coſt him 100 crowns, including officers. But ſervitude is cheaper in [redacted]

[b] DEH-BASHI. [c] SUDIVASI. [d] HAZARRI, ſometimes called MIMBASHI.

[e] The diſtance is computed between 7 and 800 miles.

1739. ſo many forces, that he was often obliged to employ ſuch commanders as he had ſoon reaſon to diſtruſt. He recommended to SIRBULLIND KHAN, NIZAM AL MULUCK, and other OMRAS belonging to the court of MAHOMMED SHAH, to be faithful to their maſter; telling them, that a religious adherence to their duty to their own ſovereign, would be their beſt ſecurity againſt his reſentment.

The 4th of MAY he iſſued out orders for his army to march, and proclamation was made, that no ſubject of MAHOMMED SHAH ſhould preſume, under pain of death, to conceal any one belonging to his army. He alſo gave orders, that none of his officers or ſoldiers ſhould carry with them any male or female ſlaves, except ſuch as had been bought with money, and with the public conſent of the parties; and that, even women lawfully married to them, ſhould not be taken away without their conſent. Some of the officers uſed the moſt gentle entreaties, but none of the INDIAN women could be entirely prevailed on to leave their country; NADIR therefore obliged theſe officers to ſend back the few women who had accompanied them out of the city. This rigor ſeemed to ariſe either from the regard which he always ſhewed to the freedom of that ſex, as far as MAHOMMEDAN principles allow; or from a fear leſt theſe women ſhould be a means of ſupporting a correſpondence with the INDIANS, not conſiſtent with his ſyſtem of politics.

As ſoon as he arrived at the gardens of SHALIMAR, he ordered a muſter of his army. Four hundred men being miſſing, ſtrict ſearch was made after them; of theſe, ſixty were found and brought to the camp. As a proof of the ſeverity of his diſcipline, he cauſed their heads to be cut off inſtantly upon the field. This induced the INDIANS out of pure mercy to conceal the other deſerters.

NADIR carried with him a hundred and thirty writers, among whom were ſeveral who underſtood the finances of the empire, of which he was particularly deſirous of acquiring an entire knowledge. He alſo obliged three hundred maſons and builders, two hundred ſmiths, two hundred carpenters, and one hundred ſtone-cutters, to engage in his ſervice, in order to go into

PERSIA.

PERSIA. His intentions were to build a city after the model of DEHLIE, a draught of which he carried with him. This new city was propoſed to be called NADIR ABAD [f]; which at the ſame time that it tranſmitted his own name to poſterity, might remain a monument of his conqueſt in INDIA, and of his victory obtained over the GREAT MOGHOL. He allowed theſe artificers large pay, and provided them with horſes and other neceſſaries for their journey: he alſo agreed, that after the expiration of three years, they ſhould be at liberty to return home. However this deſign might flatter his vanity, it was never carried into execution: part of theſe INDIANS deſerted before they reached LAHOR, and the continual wars in which he was afterwards engaged diverted the thought of this project, after his return into PERSIA. 1739.

Beſides the jewels, gold, ſilver, and other valuables already mentioned, he took with him near three hundred [g] elephants, ten thouſand horſes, and as many camels, of which many were loaded with ſpoil. Moſt of the gold and ſilver was melted into large ingots, and ſlung over the backs of camels, horſes and mules. If we reckon one half part of the thirty crores [h] already mentioned to be in gold, and the other in ſilver, according to the ordinary computation of loads, even for common journies in PERSIA, would require five thouſand ſeven hundred camels, and two thouſand and fifty horſes and mules [i]. The manufactures, furniture, and warlike weapons, it may be preſumed, would require a much greater number.

It is computed that the houſes and goods deſtroyed by fire, and the fields which were laid waſte, amounted to near twenty crores [k]; we may therefore reckon upon the whole, that this PERSIAN ravager ſpoiled the INDIANS of above one hundred and twenty millions of pounds.

As-

[f] The city of NADIR.

[g] Some accounts ſay he took a thouſand elephants, which ſeems to be much too great a number to have been collected, or to be of any uſe. Theſe animals indeed carry large burthens; but except it be for artillery and ſuch like uſes, camels, horſes, and mules, anſwer the purpoſe better. This is a long-lived animal, and yet I could never hear that there were ſuch numbers in PERSIA; the number in the camp did not reach to thirty, and thoſe which NADIR ſent into TURKEY and RUSSIA did not exceed twenty.

[h] 37,500,000 *l.*

[i] This review of the matter would tempt one to believe that the treaſure was not of ſuch importance, though we may preſume that it was a larger ſum than ever was collected in one treaſury: nor is it of conſequ[illegible]hatever it was, it is diſſipated.

[k] 25,000,000 *l.*

1739. As to the number of souls who were plunged into eternity upon this unhappy occasion, they are not reckoned less than two hundred thousand; of whom fell between LAHOR and KARNAL, in the battle, and a few days afterwards, forty thousand; in the massacre one hundred and ten thousand; in the villages, and those who died by famine, fifty thousand. We will now leave the INDIANS to repair by industry and commerce, the havock created by their avaricious enemy, and follow NADIR in his march.

CHAP. XXVI.

NADIR *continues his march from the gardens of* SHALIMAR. *An instance of his vanity and avarice. His cruelty towards numbers of the peasants. Contribution of* LAHOR. *His passage over the* CHANTROU *obstructed. He returns back towards* LAHOR. *Confederacy of the* AFGHANS *and* INDIANS *to oppose his passage through the defiles. He seizes the plunder belonging to his own soldiers. His march to* PEISHOR. KHUDAYAR KHAN *refuses to acknowledge the sovereignty of* NADIR, *and is reduced.* NADIR *pursues his march to* KANDAHAR. *He sends his treasures to* KÆLAT, *and conquers* KHIEVA *and* BOKHARA.

THE necessary dispositions being made, on the sixth of MAY NADIR pursued his march from the gardens of SHALIMAR, directing his course to the plains of KARNAL, where the INDIANS first owned him as their conqueror. According to the ordinary consequence of vast possessions, the precautions he took, seemed to argue a greater inquietude for the preservation, than he had shewn solicitude for the acquisition, of his riches.

When he arrived on the plains of KARNAL, he sent for the chief[1] of the town of that name, and commanded him to build a village on the spot he had incamped, and to call it by the name of FATEH ABAD[m]: for this purpose, it is said, he gave him five thousand rupees. It is not improbable, that an inclination to continue the memory of his victory, might induce

[1] ZEMIDAR. [m] Signifies the habita[illegible]

induce him to be at this expence; but this ſum of 600*l.* is ſo very inconſiderable, that it plainly proves how ſtrong the paſſion of avarice became in his breaſt amidſt ſuch vaſt riches. 1739.

As the army was marching, the peaſants watched their opportunities to plunder or kill the ſoldiers, who were ſent out to provide neceſſaries; they alſo pillaged the exterior parts of the camp in the night, inſomuch that the PERSIANS loſt above a thouſand camels, horſes, and mules, before they reached TANISEER. The SHAH, enraged at this behaviour, gave orders for plundering that town, and putting the inhabitants to the ſword. Other towns and villages ſuffered the ſame fate: By this ſtep he intended to terrify the people into compliance, ſince he could not by any other means engage them to ſupply his army.

As ZEKARIAH KHAN, the governor of LAHOR, had made his ſubmiſſions to NADIR, when he paſſed through the province of PENJAB in his way to DEHLIE; it was apprehended that the inhabitants had nothing to fear: but as ſoon as the KHAN heard of the maſſacre at DEHLIE, and of the ſeverity with which the contributions had been exacted in that city, he foreſaw the ſtorm that was gathering. Reſolving therefore not to be taken at a diſadvantage, he ſummoned all the merchants, money-changers [a], and wealthy inhabitants, to bring in their quotas towards raiſing a crore of rupees [o]. This ſum was deemed the utmoſt which they could pay.

NADIR was no ſooner arrived at the gardens of SHALIMAR, than he diſpatched ABDUL BAKI KHAN, with a conſiderable body of troops, to demand a large contribution of LAHOR; and having paſſed through SIRHIND, he was drawing near to the capital of the province, when ZEKARIAH KHAN went out to meet him. The crore of rupees was preſented, with the ſtrongeſt proteſtation that this ſum was the utmoſt which the city could raiſe; that if it was his pleaſure to pillage or to ſlaughter the inhabitants, they were unable to reſiſt his forces, and therefore reſigned to whatever ſhould be determined. ABDUL BAKI KHAN had orders to demand

[a] SERAFS. [o] 1,250,000*l.*

1739. demand a larger ſum; but this juſt repreſentation being made to the SHAH, the crore of rupees was accepted, and the PERSIAN army continued their march.

When they arrived on the banks of the CHANTROU, the bridge of boats prepared for their paſſage had been carried away by a ſudden ſwelling of the waters; NADIR therefore directed his march back, and entered the province of PENJAB. A body of horſe was diſpatched to LAHOR the capital, to demand proviſions. The inhabitants, who had hardly recovered from their dread of fire and ſword, at the late approach of the PERSIAN army, and were impoveriſhed by the contributions they had paid, now thought only of ſaving their lives by flight. ZEKARIAH KHAN was no ſooner informed of the panic with which the people were ſtruck, than he went and threw himſelf at NADIR's feet, and begged that he would not approach nearer the city, engaging at the ſame time that the bridge ſhould be repaired without delay: it was accordingly performed, and the army paſſed over.

NADIR then directed his courſe towards REHNAS, a fortified city on the eaſtern banks of the INDUS near SUVAT, a branch of that river. Thence advancing to ATTOK, he attempted to paſs the INDUS, into the dominions which had been lately yielded up to him. Here the want of a ſufficient number of boats to form the bridge obliged him to halt: and this delay afforded time to the AFGHANS and the INDIANS, who inhabited the weſtern ſide of the river, to take up arms. The vaſt booty which the PERSIANS had amaſſed, was a temptation not to be reſiſted; and they ſeemed reſolved to try their fortune, if by uniting their forces they could ſeize ſome part of the plunder.

What their efforts would have produced, had they been carried into execution, it is not eaſy to determine. The PERSIAN king certainly thought himſelf in danger, and choſe rather to negotiate for a free paſſage, than run a hazard where there was nothing to gain. The conſideration of a vaſt treaſure, had rendered the fierce and intrepid NADIR, cautious and circumſpect. His mind, ever fertile in expedients, now ſuggeſted

ſuggeſted to him to write to NACIR KHAN, the late governor of CABUL, whom he had left at PEISHOR, commanding him in the moſt expreſs terms to uſe his intereſt to diſperſe the tribes, who were aſſembled in the mountains. The KHAN immediately ſent for the chiefs of this confederacy, and perſuaded them to decline their enterprize, for which, according to his inſtructions, he engaged to give them ten lacks of rupees [p]. However large this ſum might appear upon another occaſion, it was an object of very little conſideration compared with the bulk of NADIR's treaſure; he therefore remitted this ſum without delay, and purchaſed a free paſſage [q]. 1739.

In the mean time the bridge was preparing for his paſſage over the INDUS, when meſſengers arrived from the court of the GREAT MOGHOL, requeſting in behalf of that prince the redemption of two rich feather-jewels, belonging to the head-dreſs of the ſultana. Upon this, orders were given for ſearching the royal treaſury, but no ſuch jewels could be found. It was reaſonable to preſume that they had been brought away from the INDIAN court, and of courſe they muſt be in the poſſeſſion of ſome officer or ſoldier in the army. This ſuggeſted to NADIR ſufficient reaſon to challenge all precious ſtones as his property; accordingly he ordered ſtrict ſearch to be made, and that all ſhould be brought into the treaſury under penalty of death. Numbers of the ſoldiers, whoſe paſſion for gain was not perhaps inferior to that of their general, enraged to ſee the fruits of ſo long and perilous a march raviſhed from them, threw them into the INDUS; and others concealed them in the earth: inſomuch, that altho' great quantities were collected, this extraordinary reſolution it is believed coſt ſome millions of crowns value to PERSIA. The jewels, plundered both by the private men and officers, muſt have been very conſiderable: the preſents and bribes which they received, amounted to a great ſum, particularly on the unhappy occaſion of the maſſacre of DEHLIE, when many of the INDIAN lords and perſons of diſtinction ſaved their lives by the mere force of their great riches. A great part of this, eſpecially jewels which

[p] 125,000 l. [redacted] [q] It is ſaid that other inhabitants of the mountains afterwards made the ſame demand, which [redacted] to comply with.

1739. which could be eaſily concealed, was not till then brought into the royal treaſury [r]. The quantity of precious ſtones, delivered up to NADIR upon this occaſion, amounted to a great value; but neither of the jewels in queſtion appeared till a conſiderable time after, when one of them was found among the ſequeſtered effects of a general officer, who was put to death; the other never appeared.

It is amazing to conſider the aſcendency which NADIR had acquired over his army, and that ſuch a ſtep as this did not produce a revolt [s]; but his addreſs in ſowing the ſeeds of jealouſy and diſtruſt among them was ſuch, that they were afraid of each other; and this ever proved his beſt ſecurity. Numbers of them might now be more inclined to deſert, than to give up their valuable plunder; yet the circumſtances they were in, with regard to an enemy's country, was an inſuperable obſtacle to their taking ſuch a ſtep.

After paſſing the INDUS, he directed his march to PEISHOR, where he halted for ſome days: he left a PERSIAN general, with a conſiderable body of forces, but confirmed NACIR KHAN in the government of that province, and conferred ſeveral honours on him, in acknowledgment of his great ſervices. From thence, continuing his rout towards CABUL, he detached ABDUL BAKI KHAN, with five thouſand horſe, to receive homage from KHUDAYAR KHAN, governor of PEKIER [t]. This KHAN had refuſed to pay homage to NADIR, now ſovereign of that country; and collected a conſiderable body of forces to oppoſe the PERSIAN army. Finding that his late maſter the GREAT MOGHOL had not been able to ſupport him, he reſolved to try if he could obtain an independent ſovereignty.

ABDUL

[r] See Vol. I. page 255. for the quantity of large ſtones on horſe furniture. [s] I was told in PERSIA, that he took from the ſoldiers all their money alſo, except one hundred crowns; ſome accounts mention two hundred and fifty crowns; but I have ſome difficulty in believing either. As to jewels, they would be ſubject to diſcovery in the ſale of them, which would not have been the caſe with money. [t] This country is to the ſouth of CABUL on the INDUS, bordering upon MULTAN: I do not find it laid down by DE LISLE. There are ſeveral forts and [illegible]3 places in it, ſuch as LOUHERI, SEKER, and TEKIER. The people of this country are partly MAHOMMEDANS, and partly PAGANS.

ABDUL BAKI KHAN ſoon arrived on the frontiers of this country, 1739.
but was in no ſituation to reduce KHUDAYAR KHAN by force. He therefore ſent to acquaint this INDIAN lord of his arrival, and at the ſame time to adviſe him to make a ready ſubmiſſion. This offer being rejected with contempt, ABDUL BAKI informed the SHAH of the circumſtances which he was in. NADIR being now near KANDAHAR, ſent his treaſures and heavy baggage under a numerous convoy into that ſtrong fortreſs, and then directed his courſe ſouth eaſt through the country of HAZARIJAT. KHUDAYAR KHAN was no ſooner informed of the march of the PERSIAN army, than he burnt a foreſt, laid waſte the open country, and uſed his endeavours to poiſon the water.

This proceeding cauſed a new alarm in the MOGHOL's territories: NADIR was no ſooner informed of the deſperate meaſures which this INDIAN lord had taken to ſupport himſelf, than he ſent his commands to ZEKARIAH KHAN, the governor of LAHOR, and alſo to his ſon HAIAT ULLA KHAN, governor of MULTAN, to repair to his camp immediately, and to furniſh his army with proviſions. How great ſoever their reluctance, neceſſity obliged them to pay a ready obedience to the ſummons. ZEKARIAH KHAN was reputed an able politician: and this taſk now required the exerciſe of his abilities; ſince he had not only to provide the PERSIAN army with proviſions, but alſo to obtain the ſubmiſſion of KHUDAYAR KHAN. The latter offered to make ſuch preſents as his circumſtances permitted, with condition that the PERSIAN army would purſue their rout to KANDAHAR, without making any irruption into his territories; otherwiſe he perſiſted in his defiance.

This was a language to which the victorious king of PERSIA was not accuſtomed; he therefore ordered ZEKARIAH KHAN to bring to him thoſe chiefs of the country who had ſubmitted, as hoſtages for the good behaviour of their people; and at the ſame time to conduct his army by a rout, where they might be properly ſupported, in order to compel KHUDAYAR KHAN to ſurrender.

1739. As ſoon as NADIR arrived in the neighbourhood of KHUDAABAD [u], the INDIAN chief retired with his riches to EMIR-KIOUT, a ſtrong fort on the oppoſite ſide of the river HEST-NUD. ZEKARIAH KHAN renewed his entreaties in terms ſo perſuaſive, that at length aſſurance being ſent that NADIR would pardon what was paſt, and accept a moderate preſent, KHUDAYAR KHAN conſented to ſend his ſon, and to make his ſubmiſſion. This young lord was very kindly received, and entertained in a ſumptuous manner, together with all his numerous attendance. In the mean while, NADIR ordered ſome parties of his troops to take poſſeſſion of the boats in which the INDIANS came, and by favour of the night to repaſs the river. This was performed ſo well, that the INDIANS who guarded the fort of EMIR-KIOUT, taking them for the retinue of their KHAN's ſon, ſuffered the PERSIANS to enter, and take poſſeſſion of it. The KHAN had time to make his eſcape, but at length thought proper to capitulate, and give up all his riches.

The news of this affair having reached the MOGHOL's court, a report prevailed, as if the inſatiable avarice of NADIR was bringing him a ſecond time into the INDIAN territories; theſe apprehenſions alarmed the whole country, and occaſioned a great conſternation. Several of the princes who commanded in the mountains, formed a confederacy to oppoſe his paſſage; and his not invading their dominions, was imputed to the great preparations made to oppoſe him.

It is very hard to believe, that a canine appetite for gold ſhould ſo far efface all ſentiments of honour and clemency in the mind of NADIR, as to induce him to commit ſo flagrant a violation of the treaty lately concluded with the MOGHOL, and to obliterate the remembrance of his being a king, by an act ſo unworthy. The power derived from force only, can be no ſecurity, when princes throw off even the maſk of juſtice, and as it were declare war againſt the rational ſpecies. Whatever ſuſpicion he might lie under on this occaſion, he gave great proofs of eſteem for

[u] We are left entirely to ſeek for this city; the country to the weſt of the INDUS, towards the INDIAN ſea, ſeems to be very little known to the map-makers.

for ZEKARIAH KHAN, by making him ſeveral preſents, and ſending him to DEHLIE with a number of fine horſes for MAHOMMED SHAH. The INDIANS were ſoon after delivered from their fears, by the joyful news that the PERSIAN army was paſt KANDAHAR. 1739.

We have already obſerved, that whilſt NADIR was in KANDAHAR, his ſon, RIZA KOULI MYRZA, had made an incurſion as far as BALKH, which ſubmitted to him; but he was not able to ſubdue the OUSBEG TARTARS of KHIEVA and BOKHARA[x], who, during the troubles in the PERSIAN empire, had made frequent inroads into KHORASAN, and carried many thouſands of the inhabitants into ſlavery. Theſe people are remarkable for their vivacity and love of liberty. As they are for the moſt part of the ſect of the SUNNIS, they hate the PERSIANS; but the difference in religion has not occaſioned ſuch frequent conteſts, as their neighbourhood and ſtrong propenſity to rapine. KHORASAN had often ſuffered by their depredations, nor had they been intirely quiet during the abſence of the PERSIAN army in INDIA. NADIR had ſome time before ſent embaſſadors to the KHAN of KHIEVA, demanding the PERISANS, numbers of whom were detained in ſlavery in that country. But theſe TARTARS were intoxicated with their former ſucceſs, and having enjoyed an uninterrupted ſecurity for many years, ſeemed to have loſt all ſenſe of danger. Contrary to the laws of nations, which even in this country are deemed ſacred, with reſpect to the repreſentatives of kings, they put the PERSIAN embaſſadors to death; only one, the leaſt conſiderable in rank, was ſent back to his maſter without his noſe and ears. Such a proceeding could not but incenſe the impetuous NADIR, and draw on the fire of his reſentment.

The occaſion was now favourable for the reduction of theſe people. NADIR having detached a large body of his troops from KANDAHAR to KÆLAT with his treaſures, took the rout through the kingdom of BALKH. He paſſed the river AMO, and arrived in the neighbourhood of BOKHARA about the beginning of OCTOBER, with an army of near fifty thouſand

[x] Some are of opinion, that theſe people are the deſcendants of the tribe of ISRAEL, whom SALAMAZAR, [redacted] ASSYRIA, ſent into MEDIA.

1739. thouſand men. The OUSBEG TARTARS who inhabit this city and its diſtrict, ſubmitted to him immediately. He ſet at liberty the PERSIANS who had been detained in captivity, and inliſted about twelve thouſand of the inhabitants who were fit to bear arms; theſe OUSBEGS being eſteemed the beſt ſoldiers in TARTARY. In conſequence of the ready ſubmiſſion of the KHAN of this country, NADIR inveſted him with the government of all the territories of BOKHARA to the north of the AMO, and alſo made very valuable preſents to him and his dependents.

The KHAN of KHIEVA had taken the field with about twenty thouſand men. He had hardly ever ſeen a more formidable army, and flattered himſelf with ſucceſs: but as ſoon as he heard of the ſuperior numbers of the PERSIANS, and that NADIR himſelf was at their head, he retired with precipitation towards his capital. The PERSIAN king being informed of the ſituation of the enemy, made ſuch forced marches, that the OUSBEGS were obliged to ſtop at SHANKA[r]. Here the KHAN made a brave reſiſtance, but was at length obliged to ſurrender. NADIR challenged him with the murder of his embaſſadors: he excuſed himſelf, alledging that it was done by the OUSBEGS without his knowledge. To this the PERSIAN king replied; "If you have not abilities to govern the "few ſubjects who inhabit your territories, you do not deſerve to live; "and for the affront ſhewn me in the murder of my embaſſadors, you "have no title to die like men; you ſhall die like dogs." He then ordered the executioners to cut the throat of the KHAN and about thirty of his chief attendants; a puniſhment eſteemed the moſt ignominious among the PERSIANS. Upon the news of the fate of this KHAN, all the towns and villages ſurrendered except the capital.

The inhabitants of KHIEVA ſhut their gates againſt the conqueror, reſolving to oppoſe him to the laſt extremity. Several of them, who were apprehenſive of the conſequences of ſo raſh an enterprize, attempted to leave the town, and were put to death as deſerters. The number of their PERSIAN ſlaves was ſo great, that ſome were cruelly put to death in cold blood, merely out of fear of their riſing, and the reſt were imprisoned.

[r] A city about half a day's journey to the eaſtward of KHIEVA.

priſoned. The 8th of NOVEMBER NADIR SHAH incamped on the eaſt 1739.
ſide of KHIEVA: he ſent ſeveral meſſages and demanded a parley, but the OUSBEGS abſolutely refuſed to grant it. The PERSIAN army therefore inveſted the city, and planted eighteen cannon, and ſixteen mortars [z], at different places. They alſo raiſed machines of wood, from whence they could ſee over the walls: and after throwing up a breaſt-work, to guard themſelves from the enemy's ſmall ſhot, they attacked the town. Theſe TARTARS were yet poſſeſſed of a few field-pieces, which they had taken from the unfortunate prince BECKAWITZ [a]. On the 14th the SHAH ordered the town to be battered in breach [b]. The engineers did their part ſo well, that the inhabitants ſoon became ſenſible of their raſhneſs. Several breaches being now made, and the ditch almoſt filled, NADIR gave orders for ſtorming: upon this the OUSBEGS ſurrendered at diſcretion. An inventory was taken of every thing in the city; and all the foreigners [c] were ordered to appear before the SHAH.

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The 28th of NOVEMBER NADIR marched from KHIEVA, taking with him near twenty thouſand PERSIANS who had been in captivity, with eight thouſand OUSBEGS as recruits. He left a governor of his own appointing, attended

[z] Whether theſe had been carried into INDIA is not ſaid; it may be rather preſumed they were brought from thence, as they had the conveniency of elephants, which bear very great burthens. It has been often ſaid that NADIR carried heavy cannon with him into INDIA, by breaking them into pieces, and caſting them a-freſh when he had occaſion for them; but this account favours too much of the marvellous. Beſides theſe, the PERSIANS had many field-pieces, and very long ſwivel guns. The laſt were fixed on pack-ſaddles, and carried by camels: theſe carried cartridge-ſhot to a great diſtance, and made great havock; I have already mentioned them under the name of harquebuſſes. See Vol. III. page 107.

[a] See account of this expedition, Vol. I. page 189.

[b] Mr. THOMSON and Mr. HOGG, mentioned in Vol. I. page 345, 346. were in the town during this ſiege, and weighed one of theſe balls; but I am inclined to think they were fired from mortars.

[c] Among theſe were the two ENGLISH travellers above-mentioned. NADIR SHAH enquired of them what their buſineſs was. Being informed they were merchants, he told them they were at liberty to trade through all his dominions; and if any wrong was done them, and they were not redreſſed by his officers, they ſhould apply to him; they were then diſmiſſed, and a paſſport was given them. Theſe perſons reported, that many, even of the meaner ſoldiers in the PERSIAN army, had cloaths of rich ſilk, and plenty of INDIAN money. The reader will obſerve that the journal of theſe travellers, as mentioned in Vol. I. page 345. is ſaid to have been in 1740, but it ought to be 1739.

1739. attended only by a few PERSIANS, as if he was ſure of the obedience of theſe TARTARS, or thought them not worth an army to keep them in awe.

CHAP. XXVII.

NADIR *returns to* PERSIA. RIZA KOULI MYRZA *murders* SHAH TÆHMAS, *and makes an attempt againſt his father's life. Conduct of* NADIR *towards his ſon. He arrives in the neighbourhood of* ISFAHAN.

NADIR having now conquered all his enemies on the eaſtern frontiers of his dominions, prepared to return into PERSIA. His chief concern was the ſecurity of his vaſt treaſure; he therefore marched to KÆLAT, which is a few days journey to the ſouthward of MESCHED. Here he eſtabliſhed a ſufficient guard of his beſt troops, and conferred the command on a brother of LUTF ALI KHAN.

It has been already remarked, that the firſt year of NADIR's abſence had given his ſon RIZA KOULI MYRZA *ſuch a taſte of power, that* he exerted it in the moſt wanton manner on ſeveral occaſions, to oppreſs the people, and to indulge his avarice [d]. We have alſo taken notice that his father, upon being informed of theſe arbitrary proceedings, thought proper to reſtrain his authority. The beginning of this year a report prevailed *at* ISFAHAN, that the PERSIAN army had been defeated *in* INDIA, and that NADIR SHAH was ſlain. His ſon RIZA KOULI MYRZA received this account with a ſeeming ſatisfaction. In a real or affected perſuaſion that it was true, he in ſome meaſure aſſumed the regal authority. He began, by cauſing the unfortunate SHAH TÆHMAS to be put to death, together with all his family, who were priſoners at SEBSAWAR. The circumſtances of the tragical end of this prince, ſeem to prove that NADIR was not diſſatisfied with this action, and would hardly have called

[d] Among other particulars it is related of him, that in a viſit he received from the ARMENIAN patriarch, he demanded of this prieſt his cap and croſier, which were ſet with [illegible] ſtones, alledging that he had occaſion for them, for his father's government, and [illegible] of his army.

called his ſon to any ſevere account for it, had not the motive been an impatient deſire of wearing the diadem himſelf. 1739.

The perſon employed in this regicide, was MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN[e]. He had been remarkably active in ſeizing this unfortunate prince; and it is probable he was now fearful, that if NADIR had met with any misfortune, TÆHMAS would be reſtored again to the throne of his anceſtors. The murder was ſaid to have been committed after this manner: MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, under the pretence of friendſhip, repreſented to TÆHMAS that his life was threatened, and therefore adviſed him to retire either into TURKEY or RUSSIA, and that himſelf would facilitate his eſcape. As ſoon as this prince was in his poſſeſſion, he reproached him with cowardice, told him he was unworthy to wear a crown, and at the ſame time gave a ſignal to his groom[f] to kill him.

Thus fell the laſt of the deſcendants of the famous ISMAEL SEFFIE, whoſe race had filled the throne of PERSIA for near two hundred and fifty years. It has been ſeen how remarkable this prince was for a ſeries of misfortunes, during the laſt ſeventeen years. Providence ſeemed to have often interpoſed for his deliverance; and tho' neither his reſolution nor abilities were extraordinary, yet in a leſs corrupt ſtate he might have rendered his ſubjects happy, and by ſupporting his family, prevented that effuſion of blood which has exhauſted PERSIA of its inhabitants, if not totally ſubverted that antient monarchy.

NADIR, though returning in triumph, loaded with ſpoil, was now to ſuffer one of the bittereſt calamities. As if Providence had ordained it as a puniſhment for his enormous offences, his eldeſt ſon RIZA KOULI MYRZA, for whom he had a paternal tenderneſs, formed a confederacy with a few other perſons, to deprive his father of his life. For this purpoſe he employed a certain AFGHAN ſoldier to ſhoot the king, as he was returning from KÆLAT.

It

[e] This is the ſame perſon with whom I had ſuch particular connections at ASTRABAD.

[f] The perſon who [illegible] to death in the rebellion of ASTRABAD. See Vol. I. page 200.

1739. It has been already explained, in what manner the PERSIAN kings travel upon common occaſions, detached from their army. The SHAH was arrived in a narrow paſs covered with wood, in the mountains which ſeparate the provinces of KHORASAN and ASTRABAD[g], having with him only his women and eunuchs: here it was the intrepid AFGHAN dug a pit to conceal himſelf, from whence he might take his aim with the greater exactneſs. He fired his piece, and the bullet paſſed under NADIR's right arm, and ſhot him in the left hand: the horſe alſo being wounded in the neck, through pain or ſurprize fell. The AFGHAN was preparing to iſſue from the wood, and finiſh his buſineſs with his ſabre; but the eunuchs, drawing their ſabres to protect their maſter, rendered the accompliſhment of his purpoſe impracticable. A conſiderable reward was immediately offered for apprehending the aſſaſſin, and a promiſe of pardon if he would diſcover himſelf. Many of the inhabitants of the mountains were brought before the SHAH: ſome of them had offered ſums of money to the ſoldiers to excuſe their appearance. This was urged as a proof of their guilt, but NADIR commanded that they ſhould be releaſed, with this reflection: "Theſe people are innocent. The man "who has made ſo daring an attempt on *my life*, muſt be a perſon[h] of "diſtinguiſhed bravery, whoſe courage is not inferior to my own."

It was not long a ſecret, that the contriver of this aſſaſſination was no leſs than his ſon RIZA KOULI MYRZA, whoſe manners we have already obſerved had ſo great a reſemblance with thoſe of his father. RIZA KOULI being brought before NADIR, he intreated him to think of his crime, to aſk pardon, and promiſe obedience. "Conſider," ſays he, "I am your "general, your ſovereign, your friend, your father. Conſider the duty "you

[g] This paſs is ſuppoſed to be the ſame through which ALEXANDER purſued BESSUS the BACTRIAN traitor.

[h] The diſcovery of this aſſaſſin was not made till above a year afterwards, when NADIR recollecting a certain man who had often diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the field of battle, enquired after him; and being informed that this man had abſented himſelf at ſuch a time, it immediately occurred to him that he muſt certainly be the perſon who had ſhot at him. The SHAH therefore ordered that the man ſhould be ſought for, and brought before him. He was accordingly found in KANDAHAR, and conducted to the camp, where he confeſſed the fact. NADIR ſaid to him, "You are a very brave fellow; but to prevent your taking [illegible] aim, you muſt loſe "your eyes."

" you owe me in these several relations. Reflect on the small acknow- 1739.
" ledgments which I require of you. You are in my power, but I
" would not have you perish. Live, be happy, and a king, whenever
" providence shall take me from the earth." He employed several of his principal officers to persuade his son to repentance, but RIZA KOULI was inflexible, and obstinately persisted that he had done no wrong in attempting his father's life. He told him to his face, " You are a tyrant,
" and ought to die. I know the most you can do is to kill me." The afflicted NADIR between rage and tenderness said, " No: I will not take
" your life, but I will make you an example to all the princes of the
" earth; I will cut out your eyes." RIZA KOULI, with a fierceness peculiar to himself, replied, " Cut them out, and put them into . . . .[1]."

Necessity thus obliged NADIR to deprive his darling son of his sight, and himself of all hopes of making him his heir. The genius and intrepidity of this young man had filled NADIR with sanguine expectations of continuing the diadem in his family, which indeed could hardly be expected by a successor of less resolution than himself. Some days after this event, NADIR commanded that his son should be brought before him, and he enquired of him, yet with a mixture of paternal tenderness, concerning his health. The son, still repugnant to every sentiment of filial affection, and not rendered less daring by his distress, replied, " You have not blinded me so much as you have blinded all PERSIA:
" what the consequence must be, time will discover." It is remarkable, that NADIR never after permitted his son to have any women, nor would he trust him in any place but under his own eye.

In FEBRUARY this year, the SHAH arrived with his army in the neighbourhood of ISFAHAN. The satisfaction which the PERSIANS felt upon his return, arose chiefly from the hopes that his immense riches, the fruits of a three years campaign, would free them from the heavy burthen of supporting a numerous army: how ill grounded their expectations were, we shall soon have occasion to relate.

[1] It must be observed, that the indecent mention of a woman of honour and distinction, is no less disrespectful in PERSIA than in the polite parts of EUROPE; consequently it is the highest indignity to mention in gross terms the favourite wife of a king.

PART V.

FROM THE RETURN OF NADIR SHAH TO ISFAHAN FROM HIS INDIAN EXPEDITION IN 1740, TILL HE WAS ASSASSINATED IN 1747.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Reflections on the vanity of military exploits. NADIR *ſends a pompous embaſſy to* RUSSIA, *and another to* TURKEY. *Circumſtances of the* TURKS. NADIR's *demands on them. His war with the* ARABIANS. *His conduct towards the* ARMENIAN *patriarch. His project of introducing a new religion into* PERSIA. *He orders a tranſlation of the evangeliſts. Compariſon of his character, and that of* AKBAR, *formerly emperor of* INDIA.

1740. THE affliction which NADIR muſt naturally have felt from the misfortune which happened to his darling ſon, gave place in ſome meaſure to the gratification of his vanity. It is reaſonable to preſume from the genius of this man, that more than half the joy of his triumphs would have been loſt, but for the reflection of the figure he ſhould make in the eſteem of other princes.

Actions, truly heroic, like thoſe of the deity, whoſe beneficence we ſhould ſtrive to imitate, derive no real excellence from applauſe, being

in themſelves invariably good. The natural greatneſs and rectitude of the ſoul can never be expreſſed in actions deſtructive to mankind: and what for the moſt part are pompous triumphs, or the ſpoils of plundered provinces, but ſo many monuments of cruelty, ambition, or avarice? yet when our conduct will not bear the teſt of reaſon, our paſſions prompt us to ſeek a vain applauſe, and ſtill we glory. 1740.

What reflections NADIR might now make upon himſelf, are not objects of our inſtruction ſo much, as thoſe which we ought to make on him. As to his immenſe treaſures, they ſerved for little more than to enlarge his deſire to ſupport his tyrannical power, by the mere notion of his wealth; and to render PERSIA more emphatically miſerable. But notwithſtanding his extreme avarice, he ſent a magnificent embaſſy with preſents of great value to the RUSSIAN court, and another to the grand ſignior.

The embaſſadors to the RUSSIAN empreſs were SAIDAR KHAN [k], and HUSSEIN KHAN, with a retinue of two thouſand perſons, who convoyed ten elephants with ſeveral jewels and other rich preſents. SAIDAR KHAN died at KISLAR, but HUSSEIN proceeded to ASTRACHAN, where he was required to ſtop, till proper orders were ſent from court for his entertainment. Such embaſſies gratify the pride of thoſe princes by whom they are ſent, but create a vaſt expence [l] to thoſe who are to receive them. It was not till the end of OCTOBER [m] the next year, that the embaſſador made his public entry into ST. PETERSBURG, which was in ſeveral reſpects magnificent, tho' part of the PERSIAN retinue made but a mean appearance. The court was not wanting in ſhewing this PERSIAN miniſter

[k] This is the perſon mentioned in the Note, page 4, who died at KISLAR. He was an old man, and reputed very brave, and a lover of juſtice, but otherwiſe not tender of ſpilling blood. I was told the following circumſtance concerning him; he was once obſerving that he wanted ſomething to try his ſabre; upon which a very old man in the company, acknowledging that he had lived long enough, offered his neck: SAIDAR took him at his word, and ſtruck off his head.

[l] It was ſaid, that this embaſſador made a demand of no leſs than 200 ſheep, 2000 pounds of rice, and other proviſions in proportion for his daily ſupport.

[m] The policy of princes in that part of the world, eſpecially when things are in a precarious ſtate, is often the cauſe of theſe delays: ſome time has been ſpent in the adjuſtment of the ceremonials, and in making proviſion for ſo numerous a retinue; for [illegible] twelve or fifteen hundred perſons attended this embaſſador to ST. PETERSBURG.

1740. fter all the honour due to his rank. His buſineſs was to acquaint the ſovereign of RUSSIA, of the great feats of his maſter in the conqueſt of INDIA, and of the immenſe ſpoil which he had brought from thence; a ſpecimen of which he preſented to the RUSSIAN empreſs, *in* the elephants [n], jewels, and other valuables with which he was charged; that his maſter had alſo reſtored the INDIAN monarch to his dominions, and now offered his friendſhip to the ſovereign of RUSSIA, with whom he was willing to enter into a defenſive and offenſive alliance [o].

We have already mentioned, that during his abſence in the late expedition, he ſent embaſſadors to the grand ſignior, demanding a paſſport to travel through the OTTOMAN empire to MECCA. The TURKISH miniſtry conſidered this requeſt as capricious, ſince it could never be preſumed that ſuch conſent would be granted; and if he meant to take the liberty of making that pilgrimage with an army; it would rather be with a view to plunder the place of its immenſe riches, than to offer up his prayers of thankſgiving for his ſucceſſes in INDIA. The TURKS were indeed afraid that he meant to feed his inſatiable avarice with this precious morſel. What added to their terror, was the conſideration of the extraordinary interpoſition of providence in the peace which he had made with them, in conſequence whereof he had employed his forces in ſo diſtant a country, and was coming home loaded with the ſpoils of INDIA. It could hardly be expected that his military genius would ſuffer him to be long idle: and looking on themſelves almoſt as the only power againſt whom he could turn his arms, they concluded a peace with the RUSSIANS and IMPERIALISTS, and made great preparations for marching an army into ASIA.

Some time after NADIR ſent an envoy to acquaint the PORT, that notwithſtanding they refuſed him a paſſage to MECCA, it was his intention to

[n] There are ſeveral of theſe yet remaining in ST. PETERSBURG, which, tho' entirely uſeleſs, are ſupported for curioſity, and the honour of the ſovereign. The ordinary food of theſe animals was rice, meal, and ſuch like; but the RUSSIANS have very judiciouſly taught them to eat hay.

[o] It was ſaid this embaſſador demanded ſhip-carpenters, which the RUSSIANS refuſed, objecting that they had none except foreigners, who were engaged to ſerve them for a certain time, but that they had no power to ſend them out of their country. The proſecution of the deſign which NADIR had formed of building ſhips on the CASPIAN ſea, was the cauſe of the [illegible] of our CASPIAN trade.

to live in friendſhip with the grand ſignior. The new embaſſador, whom he charged with his compliments to the OTTOMAN emperor, carried ſeveral rich jewels, nine elephants, and a great number of camels, as a preſent: and according to the dignity he aſſumed, and the ſplendor of eaſtern monarchs, his retinue was compoſed of near two thouſand perſons. As their motions were ſlow, they did not arrive till the beginning of the next year. The grand vizir received this embaſſador with the utmoſt demonſtration of eſteem; however, when the purport of his commiſſion was demanded, he ſeemed to be offended, declaring that he would communicate it only to the grand ſignior in perſon. The TURKS ſoon found that NADIR was no leſs arrogant in his propoſals of the terms of friendſhip, than oſtentatious of his riches, as appeared by the prodigality of his preſents; under theſe circumſtances they were induced to watch the embaſſador as a ſecret enemy. 1740.

NADIR again renewed his claim to all the provinces and cities which in antient times belonged to the crown of PERSIA; and inſiſted that the TURKS ought to pay the expence of the late war, or yield ſome provinces as an equivalent. Theſe demands appeared to the TURKS imperious and exorbitant, and they concluded that the SHAH of PERSIA meant only to find a pretext to break with them. As the late wars had exhauſted their treaſuries, and the army was in arrears, orders were ſent to the BASHAS in all their reſpective governments, to collect the taxes, and remit them immediately to court.

In the mean while NADIR employed himſelf in reducing the ARABIAN rebels [p], who had revolted during his abſence: the OUSBEGS of KHIEVA had alſo taken up arms, and deſtroyed the PERSIAN KHAN who had been appointed their governor, together with all the native ſubjects of PERSIA, whom NADIR had left in that city. The ARAL TARTARS made inroads, and involved that country in great diſtraction, ſo that all communication was cut off, and preparations were made to attack them afreſh. For this purpoſe NADIR marched with a numerous body of forces to TÆHIRAN, in order to defend the province of KHORASAN;

[p] The HOULES.

1740. RASAN, in caſe it ſhould be invaded, or to ſend detachments againſt the OUSBEGS [q].

We have already ſeen in what manner he acted as to the affair of religion. The beginning of this year, a diſpute happened between the ARMENIAN patriarch, and ſome ROMISH miſſionaries. The matter being neceſſarily referred to NADIR, he fined the patriarch twenty-four thouſand crowns, alledging that prieſts had no occaſion for riches; that they only ſerved to perplex the mind, and take it off from purſuits of a religious nature; but as to himſelf, the ſupport of his army rendered money very neceſſary.

It will not appear a ſubject of ſurprize, that a prince who had the courage to appropriate to himſelf by an arbitrary act all the revenues of the clergy of the national religion, ſhould tax the chief of his ſubjects of a different perſuaſion. We find him indeed often aiming to confound the diſtinctions of the religions already profeſſed by his people, as if he meant to introduce one of his own contriving. About this time he ordered a ſumptuous mauſoleum to be built at MESCHED, in which he propoſed to have his body laid: towards this no coſt was ſpared; the jaſper tomb in which TAMERLANE was laid at BALKH [r] was brought from thence at a great charge; however, as it did not ſuit the place, he returned it to its antient manſion. It is remarkable that this mauſoleum was erected intirely by chriſtians; at the ſame time as he cauſed an ARMENIAN church to be built by his MAHOMMEDAN ſubjects.

To attempt any deſperate invaſion of the liberties of mankind, no method ſeems to be more effectual than that of depreciating or ſubverting the eſtabliſhed religion of a country [s]. The ſubject of religion will ever be of the higheſt moment to mankind; ſince it is only another word to expreſs the belief of the being of a GOD, and the immortality of the ſoul; but at the ſame time that it has taken root in the hearts, and

[q] It may be preſumed that he ſent freſh forces againſt theſe TARTARS, for he had a free communication with them in 1744, and was ſupplied with recruits from KHIEVA and BOKHARA.

[r] It is thought by ſome that the remains of this TARTAR hero were depoſited at SAMARCAND, which might be the caſe originally, and upon the decay of that place the tomb be brought to BALKH.

[s] With ſome exceptions however. The people of GREAT BRITAIN owe their liberty, in a great meaſure, to the reformation.

and influences the conduct of one part of mankind, it has ſerved as a political engine, or the inſtrument of temporal advantages to thoſe who are vulgarly ſaid to have no religion. PERSIA was once choſen as a more peculiar ſcene, where the Almighty manifeſted his power in a very ſingular manner; but many ages have paſt ſince the ſubſtance of religion ſeems to have been changed for the ſhadow. We find, however, a remarkable aptitude in the PERSIANS to the belief of things relating to a future ſtate. 1740.

NADIR took frequent occaſion to mention the feats of ALI in terms of contempt; arraigning his conduct, as a ſoldier, for leading his army into the deſerts of ARABIA, where numbers periſhed for want of water. "And why," ſays he, addreſſing himſelf to the people, "inſtead of praying to ALI "do you not call on GOD.*" In his religious ſchemes he appeared to have a complicated motive: he ſought to amuſe his people, and at the ſame time to increaſe his fame, by eſtabliſhing a new faith, after the manner of his predeceſſors. As he had deſtroyed the SEFFIE family, which had been eſtabliſhed on the throne of PERSIA on a principle of piety and faith; ſo he ſeemed deſirous to be the original of a new race of kings, on the baſis of new tenets in religion. This motive was ſo peculiarly adapted to the genius of the PERSIANS, that we may naturally conclude he expected to derive from hence a ſecurity to himſelf and his family.

Towards the cloſe of this year, he cauſed a tranſlation of the four evangeliſts to be made into PERSIC. It ſeemed, however, from the manner in which he conducted this buſineſs, to be more the effect of caprice, than of any ſteady and conſiſtent plan. The affair was put under the direction of MYRZA MEHTIE, a man of ſome learning, who being veſted with a proper authority for the purpoſe, ſummoned ſeveral ARMENIAN biſhops and prieſts, together with divers miſſionaries of the ROMISH church, and PERSIAN MULLAHS, to meet him at ISFAHAN. As to the latter,

* ALLAH is the name they give the deity. It is remarkable, that the TARTARS when they believe themſelves to be dying, repeat this word, "ALLAH, ALLAH," continually, as their only invocation, till they [illegible] their ſpirits, and expire.

1740. latter, they could not be gainers; ſince the change, if any took place, was to be in prejudice of MAHOMMEDANISM. Beſides, NADIR's conduct towards them had been ſevere to an extreme, and unprecedented; many of them therefore gave MYRZA MEHTIE large bribes to excuſe their appearance.

Among the chriſtians ſummoned on this occaſion, only one ROMISH prieſt, born in PERSIA, was a ſufficient maſter of the language, to enter upon a work of ſo critical a nature. As to the ARMENIANS, tho' they are born ſubjects to PERSIA, and intermixed with the inhabitants, yet there are very few of them who underſtand the language fundamentally. It was natural to expect, that MYRZA MEHTIE and the PERSIAN MULLAHS, would be more ſollicitous how to pleaſe NADIR, and ſupport the credit of MAHOMMEDANISM, than to diveſt themſelves of prejudices, and become maſters of ſo important a ſubject. This tranſlation was dreſſed up with all the gloſſes which the fables and perplexities of the khoran could warrant; their chief guide was an antient ARABIC and PERSIAN tranſlation. Father DES VIGNES, a FRENCH miſſionary, was alſo employed in this work, in which he made uſe of the vulgate edition. They were but ſix months in compleating this tranſlation, and tranſcribing ſeveral fair copies of it.

1741. In MAY following, MYRZA MEHTIE, with the PERSIAN MULLAHS, and ſome of the chriſtian prieſts, ſet out from ISFAHAN for the PERSIAN court, which was then held in the incampment near TÆHIRAN. NADIR received them with ſome marks of civility, and had a curſory view of the performance. Some part of it was read to him; on which occaſion he made ſeveral ludicrous remarks on the myſterious part of the chriſtian religion; at the ſame time he laughed at the JEWS, and turned MAHOMMED and ALI equally into ridicule. Under ſuch circumſtances, it was impoſſible this performance ſhould produce any good effect. He obſerved that the evangeliſts did not agree in their accounts, more than the MAHOMMEDAN and chriſtian prieſts; therefore he muſt remain under the ſame difficulty that he was in before: that out of both, if it pleaſed GOD to give him health, he would engage to make a religion much better than any which had

had been yet practiſed by mankind; with ſeveral other vague reflexions of the like nature. He then diſmiſſed theſe church-men and tranſlators with ſome ſmall preſents, not equal in value to the expence of their journey. 1741.

It ſeems as if NADIR had his religion to ſeek; but this project, under the preſent ſtate of affairs, and conſidering the paſſion he had for military atchievements, was very ridiculous, and by no means agreeable to that ſeriouſneſs with which ORIENTAL princes are generally inclined to treat this important ſubject. What exalted notions ought not the contemplation of the chriſtian religion to inſpire in us, when we obſerve the cruelty and extravagant principles of government, which generally prevail at the courts of MAHOMMEDAN princes! In how ſhining a light do thoſe appear, whoſe hearts are warmed with a generous deſire of acting up to the dignity peculiar to the chriſtian religion! Nor ought it to be objected, that avarice and ambition have often involved the chriſtian world in diſtreſs; when we have ſuch irreſiſtible proof of thoſe proceedings being diametrically oppoſite to the principles of chriſtianity.

To ſet the different characters of two eaſtern princes in contraſt with each other, we ſhall in the note here ſubjoined give a letter, wrote by JILAL O'DIN[t] MAHOMMED AKBAR, emperor of HINDOSTAN, to the king of PORTUGAL in 1582. This letter[u] ſeems to exhibit a remarkable proof, how the ſame freedom

[t] The aggrandizer of religion; a title which he prefixed to his name when he mounted the throne.

[u] "GLORY eternal to the true king, whoſe dominions are ſafe from decay, and whoſe kingdom "is everlaſting. The extent of the heavens, and the boundaries of the earth, are but minute parts of "his creation; and infinite ſpace but a ſmall point of his productions*. He has regulated the order "of the univerſe, and the government of the ſons of ADAM, by the underſtanding of kings, who "exerciſe juſtice. By his decrees, the ties of love, and bonds of affection, are faſtened; and he has "implanted in the various beings and creatures of his workmanſhip, the paſſion of inclination and "union, with a mutual tendency to ſociety: and praiſes without end are due to the ſouls of prophets "and apoſtles, who walked in the paths of righteouſneſs, and directed the way to obtain everlaſting "felicity.

"Thoſe who have improved their underſtandings, and ſtudied the laws of nature, know, that "this terreſtrial world, is but a mirror of the ſpiritual one; and that nothing is more deſireable than "love, or more ſacred than friendſhip, inaſmuch as the œconomy and good order of the world is "owing to affection, and the harmony of minds. For wherever the ſun of love ſhineth on the

"heart,

* The MAHOMMEDAN [illegible]ng to the ſtile of the eaſtern languages, of w[illegible] our ſcriptures are in moſt parts a remarkable ſpecimen, begin their letters, and moſt of their other writings, with the praiſes of GOD.

1741. freedom of ſentiment may operate either on the virtuous or on the vicious ſide. The emperor AKBAR, tho' not ſo great a warrior, had as liberal a mind,

" heart, it clears the ſoul from the darkneſs of mortality. How ought theſe qualities to be diligently " ſought by princes, whoſe friendly correſpondence is the cauſe of happineſs to the world, and to " the inhabitants thereof! For this reaſon it has been my conſtant and earneſt endeavour, to ſtrengthen " the ties of friendſhip, and the bonds of union, among the creatures of the Almighty; eſpecially " among kings, whom GOD by his favour has ſo highly exalted, and ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhed from " the reſt of mankind.

" Your royal majeſty, who is endowed with intellectual knowledge, and ſupports the ordinances " of JESUS, ſtands in no need of praiſe or deſcription. Our neighbourhood * with your renowned " majeſty, renders our friendſhip and alliance indiſpenſably neceſſary; but as a perſonal conference is " not practicable, the want thereof muſt be ſupplied by embaſſies, and mutual correſpondencies, that " our affairs, and the deſires of our hearts, may be manifeſted to each other.

" Your majeſty knows, that philoſophers and divines, in all nations, and in all ages, concerning " the viſible and intellectual world, agree, that the former ought not to be of any conſideration, " compared with the latter: yet even the wiſe men of theſe times, and the great ones of all nations, " labour and toil to acquire the periſhing things of this viſionary ſtate; and conſume the greateſt " part of their lives, and their choiceſt hours, in procuring material delights, being ſwallowed up, " and diſſolved in fleeting pleaſures, and tranſitory joys. Notwithſtanding theſe obſtructions, and " the extenſive buſineſs of my government, the moſt high GOD, through his eternal favour and per- " petual grace, has inclined my heart always to ſeek him. And as he has ſubjected the dominions " of many powerful princes to me, I endeavour to govern them with underſtanding. All my ſub- " jects are happy; for his will, and my duty to him, is the end of all my deſires and actions.

" Mankind are for the moſt part chained with the bonds of faſhion and conſtraint, regarding the " cuſtoms of their forefathers, or their cotemporaries and relations; and without examining the ar- " guments or reaſons for it, give an implicit aſſent to that religion in which they have been brought " up: thus depriving themſelves of the means of diſcovering the truth, which is the buſineſs and " end of reaſon. For my own part, I ſometimes converſe with the learned of all religions †, and " profit by their reſpective diſcourſes. But as the veil of language interpoſes, it is expedient that " you ſend unto me ſuch a perſon as can diſtinctly relate and explain his faith. It has already reached " my fortunate ears, that the heavenly books ‡, the Pentateuch, the Pſalms, and Goſpels, are tran- " ſlated into ARABIC and PERSIC. Should a tranſlation of theſe, or any other books of general " uſe and advantage, be procurable in your country, let them be ſent to me.

" For a further confirmation of our friendſhip, and to ſecure the foundation of affection and unity, " I have ſent my truſty friend, the learned and honourable SEYD MAZUFFER, whom I have parti- " cularly favoured and diſtinguiſhed: he will perſonally communicate to you ſeveral matters, in which " you may confide. Always keep open the doors of embaſſy and correſpondence; and peace be to " him who follows the guide. Written in the month RIBBI AVAL 990 ||."

* Alludes to the poſſeſſions which the PORTUGUEZE had at that time in INDIA. † He was fond of the BRACHMINS or INDIAN prieſts, for which ABDALLAH KHAN, chief of the TARTARS at that time, complained much in his letters to him. ‡ Among theſe are reckoned the ſcriptures of the chriſtians by ſome MAHOMMEDANS, who object only that we have corrupted the goſpel; whilſt others pretend, that when the kheran was brought on the earth, the goſpel was taken into heaven. || APRIL 15[illegible]

mind, as NADIR SHAH. If we may believe this letter was dictated by the heart, how different were the objects that engaged their attention! The one conſulted the arts of peace to render his ſubjects happy; the other delighted only in war; and we ſee what calamities attended it. 1741.

CHAP. XXIX.

Revolt of the MUNTISIKS *from the* TURKISH *government. Short deſcription of them and their country. The city of* BASSORA *under alarm from the* ARABS. *Conduct of* ACHMED BASHA. BASSORA *threatened with a ſiege by the* PERSIANS. NADIR *marches againſt the* LESGEES; *and meets with ſeveral repulſes in* DAGISTAN. *The* RUSSIANS *alarmed at his approach. The* LESGEES *deſire the protection of* RUSSIA. *The* PERSIANS *make war with the* ARABIANS, *and are repulſed. Diſtreſs of* PERSIA. *Dangerous ſituation of the* TURKS. *They reduce the* ARABIAN *rebels. Great preparations in* PERSIA *for a war.*

IN the beginning of this year, the MUNTISIKS, with ſome other tribes of ARABIANS, who had lately been under ACHMED BASHA, threw off the TURKISH yoke. Theſe people generally encamp during the ſummer ſeaſon in the diſtrict of BASSORA. The EUPHRATES, which waters this country, renders it very agreeable, at the ſame time that grain, vegetables, and paſturage, are in great abundance. It is remarkable that this, as well as the other tribes of the ARABIANS, appear to be a very different people in the field, from what they are in great cities. When they are aſſociated with the neighbouring nations, they are gentle and polite; but when they take the field, the freſh air inſpires them with different ſentiments, and their expertneſs in the uſe of the lance and ſabre, renders them fierce and intrepid. Their ſkill in horſemanſhip, and their capacity of bearing the heat of their burning plains, gives them alſo a ſuperiority over their enemies; hence every petty chief in his own diſtrict conſiders himſelf as a ſovereign prince, and as ſuch exacts cuſtoms from all paſſengers.

Their

1741. Their conduct in this reſpect has often occaſioned their being conſidered in no better light than robbers, though many of them are hoſpitable and generous, as well as brave and ſober. Towards thoſe who aſk their protection they are remarkably diſintereſted: numbers of them are diſtinguiſhed for their vivacity and penetration; they have alſo a reputation for poetry and aſtrology. They generally marry within their own tribe: their women are very chaſte; indeed they make it death to be otherwiſe; and there are ſeveral inſtances of fathers killing their own daughters for incontinence; yet for robbery or murder in the field they ſeldom puniſh. The different tribes are often at war with each other, and the pillage acquired by this means is looked upon as an honourable poſſeſſion. When they plunder caravans travelling through their territories, they conſider it as repriſals on the TURKS and PERSIANS, who often make inroads into their country, and carry away their corn and their flocks. In this part of ARABIA, anciently called CALDÆA *, is ſeldom ſeen either cloud or miſt.

The juriſdiction of ACHMED BASHA had extended as far as the PERSIAN gulph, and included BASSORA. The OTTOMAN court being now jealous of ACHMED, this government was abridged, and confined to that of BAGDAT; the revenues of the BASHA were conſequently decreaſed one thouſand purſes †, which rendered him indifferent in regard to the preſervation of BASSORA. This city had been for ſome time under alarms, the MUNTISIKS threatening to pillage it; which indeed was practicable, had they made the attempt, the inhabitants being unprovided for a ſiege. The commander exerted himſelf to put the place in a poſture of defence, and at the ſame time wrote to ACHMED BASHA to come or ſend troops to his aſſiſtance. The BASHA was then upon an expedition againſt the KOURDS BILBAZ. As ſoon as he heard of the revolt of theſe ARABIANS, he returned to BAGDAT, and after collecting a body of forty thouſand men, he marched to the relief of BASSORA.

To all human appearance ACHMED might have deſtroyed theſe ARABIANS; but after ſome light ſkirmiſhes he returned to BAGDAT. He had artfully

* This is the country bordering on the government of BAGDAD northward from BASSORA.

† Garrouches or purſes, each of 500 dollars, at 4 *l.* are equal to 10[illegible]

artfully ſown diviſions among the chiefs[y] of the ARABS, particularly the MUNTISIKS and BENILAMES; by this means he became their arbitrator, and turned the ſcale, inſomuch that he appointed and depoſed their chiefs, as he found it moſt for his intereſt: this was the reaſon for his declining to fight them. Beſides, he thought it neceſſary to return immediately to his government; for he foreſaw, that NADIR SHAN would attack the TURKS; and if he engaged himſelf at the head of an army out of his juriſdiction, the port might probably inſiſt on his taking the command againſt the PERSIANS, to which he was not the leaſt inclined. He knew that by ſuch means he ſhould put himſelf in the power of the grand ſignior, whoſe good-will he had ſome reaſon to ſuſpect; or at leaſt that he ſhould engage with an enemy, againſt whom he apprehended he ſhould make the beſt defence within his walls. 1741.

In the mean while the ARABAIN HOULES continued to act vigorouſly againſt the PERSIANS, who could not ſupport the war againſt them for want of ſhips. Theſe people made ſeveral deſcents on the PERSIAN coaſt, and carried off great numbers into ſlavery. The end of this year, NADIR ſent an officer to require the delivery of his ſubjects in BASSORA, which was threatened with a ſiege by the PERSIANS; whilſt the coldneſs of ACHMED BASHA towards the TURKISH intereſt, rendered him ſuſpected of holding a correſpondence with the PERSIAN king, and gave great occaſion of alarm at CONSTANTINOPLE.

There is a proverbial ſaying among the PERSIANS, "If any PERSIAN "king is a fool, let him march againſt the LESGEES;" by which is plainly underſtood, that however potent an army may be, the ſituation of the mountains of DAGISTAN is ſuch, and the people are ſo brave, that the ſucceſs of an expedition againſt them muſt be very precarious. NADIR, whom no PERSIAN king exceeded in vanity or ambition, determined to try his fortune againſt them. They had given him great offence upon ſeveral occaſions, particularly by that incurſion during his abſence in INDIA, in which his brother IBRAAIM KHAN was ſlain; nor was SHIRVAN ever free from their inroads; ſo that great part of that province

[y] Theſe they call CHEIKS.

1741. province was rendered defolate. The end of this year NADIR marched at the head of thirty five thouſand men into SHIRVAN, and from thence directed his courſe into the mountains of the LESGEES. In order to facilitate his progreſs, he cauſed vaſt quantities of wood to be hewn down on both ſides the road, deſigning to fruſtrate any attempt which theſe TARTARS might make to lie in ambuſcade. In this he ſeemed alſo to have a further view. The attack which his ſon had lately made on his life in the ſtreights of ASTRABAD, rendered him the more circumſpect; nor was he ignorant that the LESGEES are as crafty as they are brave [a].

1742. About the beginning of this year he entered DAGISTAN. Here he found a very different people from the INDIANS, whom he had ſo lately conquered. Inſtead of marching through open and fertile plains, inhabited by a rich and effeminate people, he was to climb up mountains, in many places inacceſſible, and which in every [illegible] ſerved as a natural bulwark to thoſe vallies where only he could expect to find proviſions. Theſe were defended by a ſtout hardy people, whoſe love of liberty had through ages rendered them invincible: and if he could penetrate through the defiles into theſe vallies, his enemies might ſtill take ſhelter in their mountains, and render all his attempts abortive.

The terror of his arms had however induced ſome of them in the ſouthern parts to ſend hoſtages, and make their ſubmiſſion. Of theſe he removed a conſiderable number into KHORASAN, as well to people that province, as to prevent their future irruptions into the PERSIAN dominions. This ſtep ſerved only to irritate the other LESGEES. NADIR having left one of his generals with a body of eight thouſand men at a paſs, which commands an entrance into the mountains, he marched forward in purſuit of the CARACAITA [b] LESGEES: theſe having retired, and drawn him deep into their country, alarmed the inhabitants of the hills. After uniting ſome conſiderable bodies of their forces, they came down during the night, and put his whole army into the utmoſt confuſion. They even attacked the royal tent, took away ſome of NADIR's treaſure, and ſeveral of his women.

In

[a] See Vol. I. page [illegible] to 375.

[b] This word ſignifies Black Villagers. Theſe are eſteemed ſome of the braveſt people among the LESGEES.

In the mean while, the PERSIAN general, who was left with eight thouſand men to ſecure the communication with SHIRVAN, was alſo attacked with great fury. The LESGEES ſurprized this body of troops [b], and having the advantage of a wood and riſing ground, they made great havock among the PERSIANS, before the latter were able to repulſe them. 1742.

After many fruitleſs attempts, NADIR found his army in great diſtreſs for proviſions. SHIRVAN had been impoveriſhed to an extreme degree, ſo as not to be able to ſupply him, nor was the communication open for caravans; he therefore directed his courſe to DERBEND, the inhabitants of which ſoon felt the fatal effects of his neighbourhood. Here he began to be extremely ſenſible of the great uſe of ſhips, by means of which he might receive a ſupply of proviſions from the ſouthern coaſt of the CASPIAN SEA. This circumſtance calls to mind a memorable tranſaction of this year [c], with relation to the conduct of JOHN ELTON, the ENGLISH factor, whoſe injudicious engagement gave ſo great offence to the RUSSIAN court, and ſo fatal a wound to our CASPIAN commerce: but there has been already too much ſaid on this ſubject, to need any further obſervation.

This mighty conqueror was now brought ſo low, that the remains of his ſhattered forces, reduced to twenty thouſand men, muſt have deſerted or totally periſhed, had they not been ſupplied by the RUSSIANS. Every part of the world furniſhes us with inſtances, of the love of gain carrying private men beyond the bounds preſcribed by laws. I never could conceive, that NADIR entertained the leaſt thought of invading the RUSSIAN dominions, but it was ſufficient matter of alarm that he attempted to ſubdue the LESGEES; therefore orders were ſent from court, that no proviſions ſhould be conveyed as merchandize to the PERSIAN army. However, the traders of ASTRACHAN had aſſurance of ſo vaſt a profit, that they could not reſiſt the temptation, as I have already explained [d]: but DERBEND notwithſtanding

[b] A FRENCH miſſionary who was preſent in the PERSIAN camp upon this occaſion, informed me of ſeveral particulars of the great bravery of the PERSIANS.

[c] We find ELTON was at NADIR's camp. See Vol I. page 153.

[d] Vol. I. page 127.

1742. withſtanding ſuffered ſuch diſtreſs, that a great part of the inhabitants periſhed by famine.

The long continuance of the PERSIAN army on the RUSSIAN frontiers, created a ſuſpicion at the court of ST. PETERSBURG, that NADIR would make pretenſions to KISLAR, as being built on the PERSIAN territories. This is certain, that he took great offence at the conduct of a RUSSIAN officer towards ſome of his troops, who approached too near to that fort; but for this, ſatisfaction was made him by the court. Though the temptation of gain had thus engaged the RUSSIAN merchants to ſupply the PERSIANS, yet the court of ST. PETERSBURG was ſo far alarmed at their approach, that great magazines were ordered to be formed in ASTRACHAN. This city was alſo put in a ſtate of defence, and a body of troops, to the number of twenty thouſand, under the command of general TARAKANOFF, were ordered to file off towards KISLAR.

The LESGEES had intimated their deſire of putting themſelves under the protection of RUSSIA, from the time of NADIR's firſt invading their country; and it certainly was the intereſt of that empire to ſupport the independency of thoſe brave mountaineers, who form ſo ſafe a barrier againſt the PERSIANS. The arrival of the RUSSIAN troops contributed to defeat NADIR's deſigns, ſo that he found himſelf obliged to abandon an enterprize to which his ſkill and fortune were not equal.

As ſoon as the RUSSIAN general arrived in the neighbourhood of DAGISTAN, the LESGEES made application to him; and from an apprehenſion of the danger they might be expoſed to, in caſe NADIR was determined to proſecute his deſign of reducing them, they wrote to this commander as follows:

" *Moſt honoured and moſt accompliſhed general and commander in chief,*

" Our moſt humble petition conſiſts in this: all the inhabitants of " DAGISTAN having been informed that you are arrived near the fron- " tiers of KISLAR with an imperial army, and that your intention is to " defend and protect the ſubjects of her imperial majeſty in ANDREWSKA, " KOSLKOFF, and BAXAN, as alſo all the chiefs and rulers of the ſtates

" bordering

" bordering on the dominions of her imperial majesty: after longing 1742.
" expectations of your arrival, we have sent our deputies in the name
" of the whole nation to desire your intercession, that her imperial ma-
" jesty may receive us under her puissant protection, and permit us to
" be her slaves. We are determined to hold the golden border of her
" imperial robes, and in spite of all the evils that may threaten us, we
" will not be dragged from them, nor seek any other protection, nor
" acknowledge any other sovereign than GOD and her imperial majesty.

" We hereby make a solemn oath of allegiance to her imperial ma-
" jesty, whom we most humbly implore to protect us against our ene-
" mies, and in her exalted clemency to give a favourable answer to our
" petition. And that her puissant majesty may know in what num-
" bers our troops consist, we send you a list as follows:

" ACHMED KHAN the OUSMAI has - -	12,000 men
" The tribe [e] of APARZ - - -	13,000
" ACHMED KHAN lord [f] of SCHUNKETIN -	2,700
" In the districts of KANSCHUKUL - - -	8,000
" In ABY - - - - -	5,000
" In ABUGAL and KALACKSKY - - -	7,000
" In CARACK [g] - - - -	7,500
" In the districts of KUSTI 500. In KLY 2,500 -	3,000
" In GEDAT 4000. In KINJODE 1000; and in KU-RADA 1000 - - - -	6,000
	" 66,200 [h]"

These people, known to the world, but particularly to the PERSIANS, for their bravery and steady love of liberty, now defended themselves against the conqueror of INDIA, the most powerful of all the monarchs of the east. NADIR saw, though too late, that he had committed a very false

 step;

[e] HORDA. [f] BEG. [g] These I presume are the CARACAITA, who distressed NADIR's army so much. [h] This number seems greatly to exceed what these people have been generally thought able to bring into the field, tho' the several divisions of them may have easily created mistakes as to their strength.

1742. ſtep; nor could he retire, without weakening his intereſt in PERSIA, and his reputation in general. He was ſenſible moreover that theſe very LESGEES would be encouraged by his retreat, to inſult all the frontier country, and treat the PERSIANS in thoſe parts as a conquered people, unleſs he employed a more numerous body of forces to guard SHIRVAN, than conſiſted with his other deſigns. However, of the two evils, it ſeemed the greateſt to waſte his time and deſtroy his troops, when he might employ them uſefully in other important projects.

From this time we find NADIR ſecretly diſguſted with the RUSSIAN court; however, after his return into PERSIA he ſent for the miniſter of her imperial majeſty who attended the army, and told him, "that he was "ſurprized it ever ſhould be imagined he intended to invade the RUSSIAN "dominions: that it was true he had not been treated with reſpect, "RUSSIA having failed to ſend a ſolemn embaſſy to congratulate him on "his exaltation to the throne of PERSIA; but as he underſtood there "had been great changes at ST. PETERSBURG, he excuſed that forma-"lity:" at the ſame time he deſired the miniſter to diſpatch a courier to his court to inform the empreſs, "that he was intirely diſpoſed to "ſupport the peace and good underſtanding which ſubſiſted between the "two empires."

During the courſe of this unfortunate expedition in the north, affairs in the ſouth ſeemed to preſage as little felicity to PERSIA. TAGHI KHAN who commanded in SHIRASS, was ſent by the king into the country of NIMROUZ[i], in quality of general and admiral, with orders to build ſhips at BENDER EBOU CHEHRE. This KHAN was no ſooner arrived upon the coaſt; than he demanded of the FRENCH, the DUTCH, and other EUROPEAN nations, ſhips and ſhip-builders: and at length, either by money or forcible meaſures, he obtained a fleet of ſhips. One great inſtance of NADIR's cruelty exerciſed towards the people at this time, was that of obliging them to cut timber in MAZANDERAN[k], and tranſport it to BENDER ABASSI. In a ſtrait line, this is ſix hundred and ſixty miles, and if we

[i] I find moſt of the maps which have fallen under my inſpection, are very deficient with regard to theſe places. The ARABS inhabit the north coaſt of the PERSIAN gulf, and part of the banks of the TIGRIS and [illegible], beſides their proper country of ARABIA. [k] See vol. I. page 222.

we conſider the circuit they muſt take to render the road practicable, we muſt calculate at leaſt one third more: ſo that it was very plain from this proceeding, that he did not ſo much conſider how things were to be done, as that his commands ſhould be executed at all events. Great quantity of timber was cut on this occaſion; but it was tranſported no farther than the diſtrict of VERAMEH, where it probably remains to this day. 1742.

The ARABIAN IMAM or chief of MESCAT being depoſed, fled with his family and treaſures on board his ſhips then in the port, and ſailed to KHURFEKIAN[1], where he landed. From thence he proceeded to JULFAR, where was TAGHI KHAN with the PERSIAN forces. His intention was to put himſelf under the protection of the PERSIANS, on condition they would aſſiſt him to recover his dominions from his rebellious ſubjects. This deſign being diſcovered, ſeveral of his followers abandoned him, and carried the veſſels again to MESCAT. This incident was attended with the junction of the HOULES and MESCATS. The new chief of the latter being informed that TAGHI KHAN, at the inſtigation of the depoſed IMAM, intended to direct all his force againſt that city, retired with his troops to MATRA, a place a league diſtant. MESCAT being thus abandoned, the PERSIANS entered it without any precaution: and the ARABIANS taking advantage of the falſe ſecurity of their enemies, ſurprized and put them to the ſword. The MESCATS were alſo victorious at ſea.

While NADIR was thus engaged in war by land and ſea, and at the ſame time forming a great army with deſign to act againſt the TURKS, PERSIA groaned under the burthen of inſupportable taxes. The treaſures of INDIA ſerved only to increaſe the miſery of the people, by affording them a frequent and melancholy ſubject of reflection on the avarice of their king. Notwithſtanding the vaſt projects which NADIR had formed, and the numerous forces he was preparing, in order to carry his deſigns into execution, he had not yet touched his INDIAN treaſures, ſince they were depoſited at KÆLAT. What could be the effect of ſuch a conduct? Exorbitant taxes, exacted with all the aggravating circumſtances which inhumanity can ſuggeſt, drove thouſands to deſpair. Whole villages and towns retired into the mountains,

[1] This place is on the ſouthern coaſt of the PERSIAN [illegible]

1742. mountains, to avoid the barbarous treatment ſhewn them by the SHAH's collectors. Crowds of the people fled into the northern parts of INDIA, where their king had ſo lately triumphed; and great numbers put themſelves under the protection of the TURKS. On the ſouthern coaſt ſome fled into ARABIA; and not a few took every opportunity of tranſporting themſelves by ſea into the MOGHOL's empire. In the heart of PERSIA things took the ſame courſe. The ARMENIANS and others, who were equally diſtreſſed by exactions, left their habitations under the pretence of commerce or religious pilgrimages; inſomuch that the RAHDARS[l] were ordered to examine paſſports. The freedom of egreſs, which uſed to prevail, was much interrupted, on this occaſion, orders being given to the DAROUGAS[m], and alſo to the RAHDARS of great cities, not to let any one paſs near the frontiers without paſſports. As theſe were reſponſible if any perſon miſſed them, they were very vigilant in their duty. The PERSIANS uſually travel with their women, and all the furniture neceſſary to life; under theſe circumſtances it was very difficult for them to eſcape, had they been ſure of bread in foreign climates.

This was one great reaſon why JULFA[n] was not totally abandoned by the ARMENIANS. The government of ISFAHAN, which is reckoned twenty-four leagues long, and as many broad, comprehends the diſtricts of TCHI, MARBIN, KIERARIDGE, KAHAB, BARAAN, PERHAVAR, ELKHAN, and ROUNDESTER. Some of theſe were formerly well peopled; but now they exhibited only a dreary waſte, moſt of the inhabitants being fled or diſperſed: numbers had taken a precarious refuge in the mountains of LORISTAN; their lands were left untilled, and their houſes mouldered into ruins. In ſhort, all the diſtreſſes of an unſucceſsful war, or the inva-ſion of a barbarous enemy, could not plunge the people into greater miſery than the victories of their tyrannical king, who ſeemed more ſollicitous to humble his own ſubjects, than his enemies.

This

[l] RAHDAR is the term given to thoſe who are fixed at certain poſts in the highways, either to examine paſſengers, or receive toll. According to an antient eſtabliſhment, they are obliged to ſupport a certain number of men, to patrol and keep the road clear; and upon this account are entitled to a tax upon all caravans of merchandize, as well as paſſengers.

[m] Lieutenant of the police.

[n] The ſuburb of ISFAHAN.

This conduct was not less owing to the little love he bore to the PERSIANS, than to his apprehensions of their seditious spirit, which he dreaded more than the armies of the INDIANS, TURKS, or TARTARS. If he could have cut the PERSIANS off at one stroke, as CALIGULA wished in regard to the ROMANS, it is not unreasonable to believe that NADIR would have rejoiced to have done it; had it been possible to re-people the country from any other quarter. Every circumstance of his conduct seemed to prove this; since without altering his measures, which gave such high provocation to rebellion, his chastisements were so extreme, that he was not satisfied without killing or putting out the eyes of all the people, who appeared in arms against him. 1742.

During the course of this year, the PORT was agitated with variety of fears, in regard to the armies of PERSIA. The name of NADIR had spread such a terror on the minds of the TURKS six years before, as this period of time had not subdued. The revolt of the ARABIANS, who often blockaded BASSORA, was a further circumstance of alarm, lest these people should join their enemy, for as such they considered NADIR SHAH, though he had not yet declared himself.

The conferences held at ERZEROUM in JANUARY produced no effect. NADIR had ordered his son with a body of fifty thousand men to remain in and about HAMADAN, where he caused a great quantity of artillery to be cast. The TURKS therefore thought it necessary to keep a numerous body of troops in the confines of BAGDAT: but the hopes of accommodation still continuing, the grand signior sent MURIFF EFFENDI into DAGISTAN, where he desired an audience. NADIR declined entering into this business, but promised the TURKISH minister to give him an answer on the plains of MOGAN. After his expedition against the LESGEES, he explained himself in some measure, by requiring the restitution of all the provinces in ARMENIA, ASIA MINOR, and GEORGIA; which were formerly conquered by TAMERLANE. The TURKS were so alarmed at this declaration, that besides the great army which was assembled near BAGDAT, another was ordered to meet on the banks of the EUPHRATES near ERZEROUM.

Towards

1742. Towards the cloſe of the year, NADIR wrote a letter to the grand ſignior, couched in general terms, in which he expreſſed an inclination to cultivate a good underſtanding with the port. He alſo wrote to the BASHA of BAGDAT, making propoſals of accommodation in terms, as if the two powers had already been engaged in a war. Theſe ſteps were conſidered in no other light, than as a deſign to lull the court into an eaſy ſecurity; and by no means relieved the inquietude of the ſultan and his miniſters.

The SWEDES having declared war the middle of this year againſt the RUSSIANS, they made great ſollicitations at the OTTOMAN court, to engage the TURKS to break with their enemies, in order to create a powerful diverſion in favour of SWEDEN. The TURKS, however, ſaw the danger on the ſide of PERSIA too well, to be drawn into any ſuch ſnare; eſpecially as they had ſo lately accommodated their differences; nor did that moſt remarkable revolution which happened in RUSSIA at the cloſe of the laſt year, occaſion any change in the meaſures of the PORT.

What ſerved to ſupport the ſpirits of the grand ſignior, was the reduction of the ZU-BEIT and MUDANS, two tribes of ARABIANS, who had revolted. ACHMED BASHA finding that theſe people had offered to put themſelves under the protection of NADIR SHAH, ſent SULIMAN, his lieutenant [p], with a conſiderable body of forces, who defeated thoſe ARABIANS, and returned home with a rich booty. The TURKS have often occaſion to uſe ſeverity on theſe people, who are naturally turbulent and inconſtant. To keep them poor therefore has generally been the beſt expedient to keep them humble. The ſucceſſes which SULIMAN had obtained, were likely to anſwer a double purpoſe, by awing theſe tribes, and by intimidating others.

The TURKS were alſo relieved from their anxiety, with regard to the deſigns which the PERSIANS might have formed againſt BASSORA. NADIR had cauſed ſeveral magazines of proviſions to be collected on the frontiers of that diſtrict; but in SEPTEMBER he ordered them to be ſold. This

[p] KIAYA or KIHAYA.

This was a circumſtance happy to this city and its neighbourhood in two reſpects. The war with the ARABIANS had occaſioned a ſcarcity, while ACHMED BASHA not chuſing to truſt to the profeſſions of his friend NADIR, had amaſſed great quantities of proviſions in thoſe parts, and ſent them to BAGDAT. This ſupply was therefore the more welcome to BASSORA, where the ſwelling of the EUPHRATES had occaſioned an inundation, which produced an epidemical diſorder. 1742.

We have lately ſeen an inſtance of the force of gain, with regard to the RUSSIANS: the love of it often triumphs over every other conſideration. The TURKS reaped ſome benefit from buying of theſe proviſions; but at the ſame time they ſold great numbers of horſes in KOURDISTAN, and other places in the OTTOMAN dominions, to the PERSIANS. A courſe of uninterrupted campaigns had ſo far ruined the PERSIAN cavalry, that they could not have continued the war againſt the TURKS, without theſe ſuccours: notwithſtanding which the avarice of the BASHAS and governors induced them to connive at the practice, inſomuch that this year above ſixty thouſand horſes, beſides a great number of camels and mules, were ſold by the TURKS and ARABIANS for the uſe of NADIR's army.

CHAP. XXX.

NADIR's *projects to diſtreſs the* TURKS. *Critical circumſtance of* ACHMED, BASHA *of* BAGDAT. NADIR *leaves* DAGISTAN. *Intrigues of the* OTTOMAN *court.* NADIR *ſends embaſſadors to* BAGDAT. *The grand ſignior declares war againſt the* PERSIANS. NADIR's *plan of operations for the campaign.*

THE dread of war ſtill perplexed the affairs of the OTTOMAN court. That very conformity of religion, which they had ſo earneſtly ſolicited, in order to prevent the effuſion of blood, now became an object of their terror. The decree which NADIR had publiſhed upon his acceſſion to the throne, not ſeeming to operate effectually, the

1742. minds of the PERSIANS, towards the close of his year he caused it to be proclaimed, that as he had acknowledged the belief of the SUNNIS for the orthodox faith, he required all his subjects to follow his example.

Under the circumstances of fear, this declaration created a suspicion in the TURKISH ministry, that it was an artifice of NADIR SHAH, by imitating the conduct of ASHREFF [s], to taint the minds of the TURKS with religious prejudices; and the same success which that prince had met, with regard to his security against the TURKS, NADIR might possibly find in his conquest of TURKEY.

ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, was critically situated between the powerful and ambitious NADIR, and the jealousy of the TURKISH court: the former, tho' he professed himself a friend to the BASHA, aspired at the conquest of BAGDAT; *whilst* the latter was concerned to see this government in some degree dismembered from the OTTOMAN empire. Had BAGDAT been in less skilful hands, it might very probably have fallen a sacrifice to the PERSIANS; and yet many of the TURKS gave this general the odious appellation of NIZAM AL MULUCK, *in allusion to* the treachery which was imputed to that INDIAN lord, as already related.

In whatever light the conduct of the BASHA might appear to the PORT, it was his parts and generosity which supported him, and not his treason. By these he engaged the friendship of almost every one who had any connexion with him: his officers served him with the utmost fidelity, and considered their own fortune as inseparable from his. But this generosity had likewise its mixture of evil, as by this means his coffers were generally empty; insomuch, that he was often obliged to demand money from the court. *He* had now exacted six hundred purses [t] from the ARABIANS, whom his lieutenant, SULIMAN BASHA, had lately defeated. The JEWS of BAGDAT were also obliged to supply him with two hundred purses. Their chief banker was accused of an illegal commerce with the daughter of a TURKISH EMIR [u], and would have suffered death,

[s] Vol. III. Chap. XXXVII. [t] 6,000*l.* [u] We may observe in [illegible] light the conduct of the TURKS and PERSIANS appears formerly, the latter

death, if they had not paid this pecuniary mulct, together with seven hundred purses which was due to the banker from the BASHA; but this event, whether the JEW was really guilty or not, ballanced the account. 1742.

The good understanding which was supposed to subsist between NADIR SHAH and the governor of BAGDAT, gave the TURKS no small inquietude. They were in no condition to compel him to give up his government; and out of fear of driving him to any desperate expedient, they dissembled their apprehensions, and worked secretly to accomplish their purpose. Among other steps, the court sent several BASHAS to BAGDAT with troops, under pretence of putting the city in a state of defence against the armies of PERSIA; but this expedient did not take effect. The BASHA saw through the disguise which the court put on, and refused to give any admittance to those troops, representing to the grand signior, that his own forces were sufficient to defend the city and its district.

If ACHMED could have been supposed capable of joining his forces to NADIR SHAH, with a view to conquer TURKEY, such a junction was practicable; but if he had no such design, (as indeed how could a man of his parts commit so gross an absurdity?) the conduct of the OTTOMAN court was very imprudent with regard to her own safety. The circumstances of the BASHA rendered it necessary, that the grand signior should be kept in fear of the PERSIANS, as a decisive blow on either side might oblige him to yield up his government; and it was plain enough that NADIR was preparing for some important enterprize.

Had the TURKS been in circumstances of supporting a war against PERSIA, the perplexed condition in which NADIR found himself in DAGISTAN, rendered the occasion favourable; however, it was some consolation to them, that the rapid course of his arms had met such a check, as might afford them time to collect troops, and also treasure to support them.

were equally strict with regard to their women, but we find under NADIR's reign [illegible] ons of MAHOMMEDAN [illegible] christians were levelled. See Vol. I. page 308. In [illegible] l in much greater abomination than the christians.

1743. In FEBRUARY this year, NADIR abandoned his enterprize on DAGISTAN; and leaving DERBEND, he marched to the plains of MOGAN, not without apprehenſions that the TURKS would make ſome irruption into his dominions, before he could put himſelf at the head of his forces.

The grand ſignior had reaſon to be perſuaded that he never ſhould have a ſolid peace with NADIR, till he had an opportunity to humble him. The PORT was willing to think, that his ſucceſſes aroſe from his intrigues, and the force of his bribes, as well as his valour and military knowledge. Upon this principle, they began to conſider him as leſs dangerous, in a preſumption that he would have no advantage over them by treaſonable practiſes. Their eyes being alſo more open to their intereſt, they ſaw the fault which they had committed, in loſing many favourable opportunities; and prepared in the moſt effectual manner to take meaſures to free themſelves from any future alarms.

The vizir ALI BASHA employed all his ſkill and intereſt to diſplace ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT: he even carried his reſentment ſo far, as to tamper with OSMAN BASHA, governor of the citadel of BAGDAT; and to promiſe him the government of the city and province, if he could by any means remove ACHMED. This propoſal not being accepted, the vizir, according to the ordinary courſe of eaſtern intrigues, tried ACHMED; and orders were diſpatched to him to ſend the head of OSMAN. Being ſurprized at ſo extraordinary a commiſſion, in prejudice to a man againſt whom he had no cauſe of complaint, he acquainted OSMAN with the affair. This produced an explanation on both ſides: the mutual confidence which from thence aroſe, eſtabliſhed their friendſhip; and they had ſoon after the pleaſure of ſeeing their enemy diſpoſſeſſed of his office. ACHMED was at length confirmed in his governments, both of BAGDAT and BASSORA; the grand ſignior's decree for this purpoſe arriving in APRIL. The court had wiſely judged this to be the beſt expedient, to remove the offence given the BASHA, together with their own jealouſy.

It

[redacted] HOFIZ. They have generally governed [redacted] diſtinct from the [redacted] ince.

It is probable that NADIR made ſome attempt to corrupt ACHMED. 1743.
The vile principles of other men, which he had ſo often found ſubſervient to his ends, might have induced him to play off his diabolical engines, and try the efficacy of gold. MYRZA ZEKI, a perſon much in the confidence of NADIR, was ſent by him to BAGDAT, in the character of embaſſador to the BASHA, who received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and a profuſion of magnificence. The embaſſador acquainted the BASHA, that his maſter intended to make the pilgrimage of IMAM ALI, and other places in the neighbourhood of BAGDAT, where the PERSIANS were wont to pay their devotions; and that he would ſend four KHANS with troops to eſcort him. The BASHA could by no means reliſh this information, as it ſeemed to conceal ſome ſecret deſign foreign to the pretence of religion; however, in return for the honour which had been done him in this embaſſy, he ſent his kinſman MAHOMMED, KIAYA, to attend the embaſſador, alſo with letters and magnificent preſents for NADIR: among the latter were ten beautiful horſes richly capariſoned. This embaſſy produced no other effect, than to confirm that eſteem which the PERSIAN king had always expreſſed for the BASHA.

Whilſt theſe negotiations were carried [illegible] the PORT ſaw the ſtorm ready to burſt forth. The eleventh of JUNE the horſes tails were hung out of the ſeraglio at CONSTANTINOPLE as a ſignal of war. At the ſame time orders were given to ſtrengthen the OTTOMAN army on the banks of the EUPHRATES near ERZEROUM. The PERSIANS had already commenced hoſtilities; and BASSORA and BAGDAT were inveſted almoſt at the ſame time, the former by a body of thirty thouſand PERSIANS, who were joined to ſome tribes of ARABIANS. They took immediately the fort of GURDILAN on the ſide of the river oppoſite to that city: they alſo ravaged ſeveral ſmall towns and villages, and put many of the inhabitants to the ſword, taking their women into ſlavery. The territories of BAGDAT, which were hardly recovered from the calamities they had ſuffered ten years before, were alſo pillaged and laid waſte.

1743. The TURKS however collected a great army on the ſide of ERZEZOUM, and another at DIARBEKIR, and determined to make head againſt the enemy. The PERSIAN troops which were before BASSORA and BAGDAT, were therefore ordered to leave thoſe places and join at MOSUL, and from thence to advance to DIARBEKIR. The plan for the operations of the campaign being formed, NADIR himſelf at the head of a great body of forces marched to VAN, with a deſign to hem in the TURKS at ERZEROUM, and force them to a battle, and then to attack the OTTOMAN dominions in two different parts at the ſame time, and puſh his conqueſt as far as the capital. He had been ſome time making preparations to take the field; but he did not begin the campaign with ſo much ardour as in his former war againſt the TURKS. The repulſe he had met in DAGISTAN, had in ſome degree diminiſhed his reputation; whilſt the acquiſitions which his troops had made in INDIA, rendered them to all appearance leſs deſirous of war.

The love of eaſe, and the cultivation of the arts of peace, will ever be grateful to mankind; but even ſucceſs in war muſt tire and diſtreſs. The moſt fortunate campaigns have generally been attended with great labour, and ſeldom without the loſs of many lives to the victors; yet according to the common notions of mankind, to wade through rivers of blood is the glory of military atchievments: ſo much does a vicious ſelf-love counteract the great deſigns of providence.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

The TURKS *put themſelves in a ſtate of defence. The* BACTIARIS *and* BALOUCHES *revolt. The* TURKS *ſend a pretender into* PERSIA, *who is joined by a great body of* LESGEES *and* PERSIANS *in* SHIRVAN. *They are defeated by the* PERSIAN *forces under the command of* NESR ALI MYRZA. *Rebellion of* TAGHI KHAN *in* SHIRASS *ſuppreſſed.*

AFTER a campaign of near fourteen years, the ardour of the PERSIAN ſoldiers began to abate, whilſt the TURKS recovered from their apprehenſions. MOSUL was put in a condition of defence, and the PERSIANS endeavoured in vain to make themſelves maſters of it: they loſt a great number of men before the town, and were obliged to raiſe the ſiege. ALI BASHA, governor of DIARBEKIR, commanded a numerous army, and had taken all the precautions of an experienced general to ſtop their progreſs, had they even ſucceeded at MOSUL; but that blow failing, prudence forbid their advancing any further, whilſt an unconquered country remained behind them. 1743.

NADIR found the TURKS every where prepared for his reception: a number of fortified towns, defended by an enemy become brave by their experience, ſeemed reſolved neither to be won by his intrigues, nor to be ſubdued by the terror of his name. Superiority of numbers, and the mere dint of valour were therefore his only reſources; and as he was ſenſible that his conduct had rendered the PERSIANS every where ripe for a revolt, the loſs of a battle would probably have been his ruin. As the TURKS kept only on the defenſive; the iſſue of the war could not eaſily be determined by any deciſive blow. Under theſe circumſtances NADIR retired to the neighbourhood of KERKÓUD, where the TURKS ſuffered him to remain unmoleſted.

In the mean while near two thouſand families of the BACTIARIS, whom the PERSIAN king had tranſported to the province of K[redacted]SAN, [redacted]rned

1743. returned to their own country; where they retired into the mountains, reſolving to ſhake off the PERSIAN yoke. NADIR being apprehenſive that others would follow their example, ſent a great body of OUSBEGS to keep them in awe. The BALOUCHES alſo refuſed to ſend any further ſupplies of men or money; and a body of PERSIAN troops, which had marched againſt them, was defeated.

A great part of the frontier country to the ſouth, and alſo the inhabitants of the ſea coaſt, finding NADIR's government inſupportable, took up arms at the ſame time: TAGHI KHAN, the governor of FARSISTAN, followed their example. This KHAN was alſo a BEGLERBEG, and had been much eſteemed by NADIR: he was permitted to wear the heron's feather on the left ſide, and to ride upon an elephant; which was not granted but to two or three perſons in the whole empire. The ſeveral expeditions which this KAHN had made againſt the MASCATS, having been attended with very ill fortune, his reputation with the king was much declined. KHALBELLI KHAN, a relation of the SHAH, and an officer under TAGHI KHAN, was become ſo great an object of jealouſy to NADIR, that he gave orders to TAGHI KHAN to ſend him his head; but the BEGLERBEG made uſe of his intereſt with his maſter, and ſaved KHALBELLI. Soon after TAGHI KHAN himſelf was ſuſpected of treaſon; and under pretence of eſteem and great confidence, NADIR charged his relation to ſend the KHAN priſoner to the camp. The mutual regard which ſubſiſted between theſe two lords, naturally produced an explanation; and they both ſaw that their ſecurity depended only on their abilities to oppoſe the tyrant, whom late diſappointments had rendered extremely cruel.

Under theſe circumſtances, they previouſly concerted their meaſures, and reſolved to rebel. To facilitate this deſign, it was agreed that TAGHI KHAN ſhould ſet out for the camp, as if he meant to give an account of himſelf to the SHAH; and that KHALBELLI ſhould in a day or two ſend after him, upon the pretext that a rebellion was breaking out, and therefore his preſence became abſolutely neceſſary at SHIRASS. Accordingly the BEGLERBEG returned, and under pretence that the neighbouring people had taken up arms againſt the king, he collected a body

body of troops to the number of seven thousand, and seized all the naval force on the PERSIAN gulf. 1743.

Whilst these storms were gathering in the south, the TURKS thought the opportunity very favourable to foment a rebellion in the north. The most proper instruments for their purpose were the LESGEES. The resentment of these people for the attempts against them the preceding year, made them wish for some favourable opportunity of distressing the PERSIANS. The TURKISH ministry were sensible that NADIR's government was already become odious; and that possibly any pretender they might set up under the notion of being of the royal blood of the SEFFIE family, might make a diversion in their favour. For this purpose therefore they engaged a certain PERSIAN named SAUN*, who pretended to be the younger son of SHAH HUSSEIN. The TURKS also insinuated that SEFFIE MYRZA, the elder son, was yet alive under their protection. SAUN had made his appearance in PERSIA some years before, in the habit of a DERVISH, privately insinuating that he affected that garb to conceal his birth: he was then taken by IBRAHIM KHAN, NADIR's brother, who in contempt cut off the tip of his nose, and set him at liberty. This man was from that time called BINNIE BURIDE', or snip-nose. The inhabitants of SHAMAKIE now received him with great demonstrations of respect, and he soon collected an army to the number of sixteen thousand men, of which the greatest part were LESGEES. These brave mountaineers had made incursions in the neighbourhood of DERBEND from the time of NADIR's leaving that city; and kept the garrison in perpetual alarms. Taking the advantage of the night, they laid a quantity of gunpowder in the broken parts of the walls, and setting fire to it, did great mischief, tho' they could not accomplish the taking of the place: this artifice was repeated several times. They often came in large bodies, in the night, and letting fly clouds of arrows at the troops who guarded the walls, immediately changed their situation; so that the PERSIANS were at a loss how to aim their artillery. All the arts of persuasion, as well as violence had been used to bring these TARTARS to a submission. The garrison made re-

* This word is also pronounced SAAM.

1743. peated ſallies, and had frequent ſkirmiſhes with them; both ſides exerciſing cruelties unwarrantable by the law of arms[x]. Thoſe who ſurrendered themſelves without fighting, and promiſed under an oath not to bear arms againſt the SHAH, were diſmiſſed by the PERSIANS. A decree was alſo ſent amongſt the LESGEES, that whoever would trade with PERSIA, ſhould be free of all duties, and that paſſports ſhould be granted for the ſafety of their perſons; but this had little or no effect.

The continuation of theſe hoſtilities kept DEERBEND almoſt in as great diſtreſs as when NADIR left it. All the males who were above ſixteen, were obliged to bear arms, and the young women above fourteen, were given as wives to the new recruits, by an arbitrary act of the governor; whilſt the ſcarcity was ſo great, that numbers died for want.

1744. The beginning of this year the pretender SAUN marched into SHIRVAN, at the head of an army moſtly compoſed of LESGEES. They were pillaging at large, when a body of two thouſand PERSIANS in NADIR's intereſt, endeavoured to ſtop their progreſs, but were intirely routed. The whole province being thus threatened with deſolation, NADIR ſent his ſon NESR ALI MYRZA at the head of twenty five thouſand men. The LESGEES, in conjunction with great numbers of people of the province, made an obſtinate reſiſtance; but after much bloodſhed they were defeated near the conflux of the KURA and ARAS. It was here NADIR was choſen king; and on the ſame ſpot, where the people had given ſuch proof of their weakneſs and corruption, was now erected a monument of their miſery and diſtreſs. NADIR cauſed a pyramid of human heads[y] to be built in token of his victory, and to deter the few remaining inhabitants from any future rebellion.

SAUN fled with ſeventy men only, but was ſoon taken. The SHAH ordered his ſon to cut out one of the eyes of this rebel, and that he ſhould be then ſent to the OTTOMAN court, with this meſſage; "That "NADIR diſdained to take the life of ſo deſpicable a wretch, though "the

[x] not uncommon for the PERSIANS to cut off the legs of the LESGEES, or to cut out the[illegible] taunt, that they might then make the beſt of their w[illegible]ome.

[illegible] page [illegible]

" the grand ſignior had eſpouſed his cauſe, as a deſcendant of the family 1744.
" of the SEFFIES *."

The conſequence of this rebellion was the ruin of almoſt the whole province of SHIRVAN. In the mean while, the revolt of TAGHI KHAN became a very ſerious affair; he was one of the laſt of the antient PERSIAN nobility, and tho' he had been unfortunate in his naval war againſt the ARABS, he had the reputation of an able ſtateſman and a gallant officer; qualities which rendered him ſo much the greater object of jealouſy. NADIR detached a body of eighteen thouſand men to SHIRASS, under ſome of his moſt experienced generals. This was a force ſo much ſuperior to that of TAGHI KHAN, that being in no capacity to meet them in the field, he ſhut himſelf up in the city.

We have already ſeen, to what deplorable circumſtances the city of SHIRASS, the capital of FARSISTAN, was reduced in 1724, and again in 1729: it was now once more doomed to be a ſcene of diſtreſs and ſlaughter. TAGHI KHAN defended the city for ſome weeks, but at length it was taken by ſtorm: the inhabitants were puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity; and a great part of their effects were pillaged, under the pretence of ſequeſtration, for the uſe of the king. Moſt of thoſe who had been in arms were put to the ſword, or deprived of ſight. TAGHI KHAN, attended by a party of his friends, fled in the diſguiſe of ſhepherds, but were ſoon diſcovered by the treachery of their own ſervants. He was brought to ISFAHAN with his favourite wife, and about forty of his neareſt relations and dependents.

This lady was violated before her huſband's face by a common ſoldier; which was the higheſt indignity that could be offered to this nobleman, and contrary to NADIR's uſual regard to women. His relations and friends were put to death; and himſelf, after being deprived of one of his eyes, was caſtrated. Strict orders were given, that all poſſible care ſhould be taken, that the operation ſhould not affect his life. It was ſaid, that

* It was remarkable, that SAUN was thus ſuffered to eſcape for the ſecond time. He was a rank predeſtinarian, and concluded that he was yet reſerved for ſome extraordinary event. The twenty-five thouſand men, mentioned in Vol. I. page 24. part of them I imagine were [redacted] againſt the other rebels [redacted] neighbourhood.

1744. NADIR had made an oath [b] never to put TAGHI KHAN to death; and was therefore wanton in his cruelty, without touching the life of this lord. It is probable, that the SHAH thought him an honeſt man, and a more able general, than many belonging to his army; and as he had given him his life, expected from him the greater marks of fidelity. Upon what other principle can we reconcile NADIR's conduct; who, after thus gratifying his reſentment, gave this KHAN the government of CABUL? What particular circumſtances might induce him to take ſo extraordinary a reſolution, my authorities do not mention: it ſeems to be an effect of that caprice and whim, which we find upon many occaſions, as if he affected to eſtabliſh a rule of conduct, contrary to the fundamental principles which common experience has taught mankind [c].

CHAP. XXXII.

Rebellion of ASTRABAD. ENGLISH *merchants plundered.* NADIR *returns from* TURKEY *into* PERSIA. *Report concerning his abdication. Diſtreſs of* PERSIA. *The* TURKS *make great preparations for war.* NADIR *marches into the* TURKISH *dominions. Battle fought near* ERIVAN. *The* TURKS *defeated.*

THE flames of civil war now ſpread themſelves like a torrent. In JANUARY this year, the KHAJARS of ASTRABAD alſo threw off the yoke, and choſe MAHOMMED HASSAN [d] as their leader. After joining a body of TURKUMAN TARTARS their neighbours, they took the capital of

[b] It ſeems as if oaths were deemed very ſacred things among the MAHOMMEDANS, and that the vileſt of men were not vile enough to diſregard their engagements, to which they call the Almighty to witneſs.

[c] Mr. OTTER mentions, that TAGHI KHAN no ſooner arrived at CABUL, than he rebelled; but I never heard that CABUL did rebel till after the death of NADIR SHAH, or juſt before, when THAMARAS KHAN commanded the PERSIAN forces on the INDIAN ſide. It is true, that many events have happened, which for want of correſpondence, and from the wild diſorders of a country rent with civil wars, have never reached EUROPE. I have already obſerved, that for my own part I adopt only what I have particular reaſon to believe is true, and thoſe events which appear but i[illegible]ſectly related, with regard to circumſtances, the reader will aſcribe to the manner in which the[illegible]on handed to us.

[d] The ſon of FATHY ALI KHAN, mentioned in [illegible]

of the province, ſeized the SHAH's treaſure, and plundered a valuable ca- 1744.
ravan belonging to the BRITISH RUSSIA company, who were at this time attempting to open a new trade over the CASPIAN ſea to MESCHED, now conſidered as the capital of the empire.

There cannot be a greater demonſtration of the fatal effects of a tyrannical government, than the extreme raſhneſs of the inhabitants of this province. MAHOMMED HASSAN had held a correſpondence with SAUN, and acknowledged him as ſovereign. He propoſed, that whilſt SAUN was conquering on the weſtern coaſt, he would reduce the ſouthern parts bordering on the CASPIAN ſea. It was with difficulty he raiſed a little army of three thouſand men; and SAUN, tho' he headed ſixteen thouſand, was not able to ſupport himſelf againſt the numerous forces of NADIR; yet the temptation of plundering the treaſure and caravan, drew the infatuated followers of HASSAN into deſtruction. The minute circumſtances of this rebellion are related in my firſt volume [e]. I have therefore only to add, that this army of KHAJARS and TURKUMANS were in the following month defeated by fifteen hundred of the SHAH's troops from KHORASAN; and by their loſs in battle, executions, and ſequeſtrations, the whole province was ruined. From this time NADIR took the reſolution of ſending a body of forces, and to build a fort on the eaſtern coaſt of the CASPIAN, with a view to awe the TURKUMANS; but the [redacted] of water in their deſert prevented the execution [f].

Whether reaſons of policy, or any other motive prevailed, NADIR certainly gave frequent proof of his regard to equity; and there is a juſtice due to the worſt of men. That which was ſhewn on this occaſion to the BRITISH merchants, ought to be remembred; for he cauſed the whole amount of their loſs to be paid to their factors.

The fortune of this eaſtern ſpoiler ſeemed now to decline very faſt: and the general defection of the PERSIANS rendered the proſpect of his future reign very gloomy. The flames of rebellion, which thus broke out in ſo many different quarters, reduced him for the preſent to the neceſſity of abandoning his deſigns againſt the TURKS; and in the month of MARCH this year [5], he returned into the plains of HAMADAN.

It

[e] Chapters [redacted] XLVI. [f] See Vol. I. page 321. [redacted] 14.

1744. It is not ſaid whether NADIR had any children by the aunt of SHAH TÆHMAS; but his unfortunate ſon RIZA KOULI MYRZA, to whom a ſiſter of that prince had been given in marriage, had a ſon by her, whoſe name was SHAHROKH, now about ten years of age. It was ſuggeſted that NADIR deſigned to abdicate the regal power in favour of SHAHROKH, as being lineally deſcended on the mother's ſide from the SEFFIE family, and that himſelf would retire to KÆLAT to end his days in repoſe. This opinion ſeemed to ariſe rather from the confuſed ſtate of affairs, than from the probability that NADIR really meant to abdicate the crown, or that he could conſiſtently with his own ſafety give up the command of his army. Nor was it probable that SHAHROKH, who was born in ſuch diſtracted times, whoſe father had been deprived of ſight for rebellion againſt his own parent, and whoſe mother had poiſoned herſelf, to avoid the cruel death of ſeveral of her relations, who were ripped up; it is not, I ſay, probable, that ſuch a perſon, however entitled by birth, ſhould ever arrive at a quiet poſſeſſion of the regal dignity.

Under ſuch diſtraction of the ſtate, and the jealouſy of the uſurper, to name a ſucceſſor would have been to dethrone himſelf in his own apprehenſion. Every thoughtful man foreſaw [g] what confuſion muſt neceſſarily follow the death of NADIR, although this event was ſo much deſired by the people. It [illegible] moſt natural to imagine, that as NADIR had put out the eyes of his eldeſt ſon RIZA KOULI MYRZA, the ſecond ſon NEZR ALI MYRZA, ſhould be conſider'd as the preſumptive heir of the PERSIAN diadem. This prince however gave no marks of a ſpirit equal to ſo dangerous a charge. ALI KOULI KHAN, the ſon of IBRAHIM KHAN [h], was therefore conſidered as the perſon moſt probable to ſucceed. This opinion was favoured by his being made governor of KHORASAN, and by a certain popularity of conduct, not ſuch as gave umbrage at this time, but tending to make impreſſions of his generoſity.

I

[g] I have often diſcourſed on the ſubject with the FRENCH jeſuits in GHILAN, who foretold a great part of the calamities, which have ſince happened, as a natural conſequence of that deſperate ſtate to which PERSIA was reduced.

[h] IBRAHIM KHAN, NADIR's eldeſt brother, the ſame perſon [illegible] was killed by the LESGEES. It was ſaid that NADIR did declare ALI KOULI KHAN his ſucce[illegible] authority is the more to be doubted, as the thing appears inconſiſtent, whilſt NEZR ALE[illegible] ſhare in the command of the army.

I have related in what miſery [1] PERSIA was involved by NADIR's ava- 1744.
rice, joined to a reſtleſs ſpirit of conqueſt, and a fear of diſbanding his army. In the moſt civilized countries we often find, that after a long ſeries of war peace is attended with many evil effects, eſpecially from the lawleſs conduct of thoſe who want ſkill, induſtry, or honeſty to get their bread. But in a country ſo loſt to a ſenſe of moral duties, and ſo impatient under the yoke of an uſurper, NADIR's ſoldiers would have been the firſt to rebel, as ſoon as they ſhould be diſcharged. They already curſed him, not in their hearts only, but with their tongues; declaring, that he had no ſenſe of humanity, and therefore his talents as a ſoldier could never render him worthy to reign over them: beſides, the native PERSIANS in his army were much inferior to the number of the TARTARS, and conſequently the former conſider'd themſelves as acting under the influence of men whom they deſpiſed. The people in general, grown deſperate by ſeeing their ſubſtance torn from them, were kept from rebellion no longer than they were awed by a military force. Yet they were reduced to ſo hard a dilemma, as to tremble at the proſpect of a change.

Such was the ſituation of PERSIA in the middle of this year, when nothing could give a ſtronger proof how much mankind are ſcourges to themſelves in conſequence of their own villainy, than that a people who had been regardleſs of their lawful king, now groaned under the tyranny of an uſurper who trod on their necks with ſuch boundleſs cruelty. Nor was it leſs amazing how a country almoſt deſerted, could find proviſions to ſupply an army.

It is eaſy to imagine the ſatisfaction which the PORT received at the rebellions in PERSIA: this made a diſcovery of the real weakneſs of their enemy. They were ſtill alarmed on account of ACHMED BASHA: the reluctance he had ſhewn to act againſt the PERSIANS, by which he deſigned to maintain himſelf the better in his government, was conſtrued by his enemies at court as a deſertion of his maſter's cauſe; and conſequently that he meant at leaſt to erect an independent ſovereignty.

The

[1] Vol. I. p. 230.

1744. The TURKS, harraſſed with war for ſo many years, grew clamorous, and a change in the miniſtry was threatened. Their fears perpetually repreſented NADIR SHAH as deſtroying their armies, and laying waſte their country, without a proſpect of peace. The court endeavoured by all poſſible means to ſoothe the people: it was even declared that a peace was concluded with PERSIA, by the interpoſition of ACHMED BASHA. The deſign of this was to remove the ſuſpicions which were entertained of this BASHA, and at the ſame time to give the people hopes of repoſe. The court however had experienced ſuch caprice, inconſtancy, and want of faith in NADIR, that they could make no dependance on any treaty with him, but ſuch as was made ſword in hand. Many projects were formed to bring vaſt armies into the field: it was even propoſed to embark ſome bodies of the CRIM TARTARS on the BLACK SEA, and land them at TREBISONDE; and to bring troops from EGYPT, and land them at ALEXANDRETTA, to endeavour by this means to cover their dominions in the antient MESOPOTAMIA. In ſhort, all poſſible expedients were tried to ſet bounds to ſo dangerous a neighbour, whoſe fortune had prevailed over the numerous rebellions raiſed againſt him.

In JULY NADIR marched back again into the TURKISH dominions, ſeemingly with a view to ſupport his troops in the enemy's country, which he could no longer do in his own. All the frontier of the TURKISH dominions had been ſo long a prey to great armies, that they were become waſte. In the mean while, the taxes drawn from his people being inſufficient for the current ſervice, he was obliged to have recourſe to his INDIAN treaſure, but in ſuch ſmall proportions, as afforded very little relief to the people.

NADIR remained ſome time between CASBIN and HAMADAN, with an army of thirty thouſand men; with theſe he awed his ſubjects, particularly the inhabitants of the coaſt of the CASPIAN, who were in general ripe for a revolt. In this ſituation he could alſo ſupport a correſpondence with his armies on the ſide of INDIA, and with that body of forces which he had left near KERKOUD. In the mean time he expected

expected to be joined by his forces which had been ſent to the ſouth againſt SHIRASS, and the neighbouring country. 1744.

Towards the cloſe of this year, an action happened between the PERSIANS and TURKS near CARS; but as it was by no means deciſive, it ſerved for little more than to ſupport the ſpirit of animoſity, and prevent that peace which the TURKISH miniſtry ſo anxiouſly ſought: at leaſt we do not find that the PERSIANS were driven out of the TURKISH dominions, nor that CARS was taken, agreeable to the common reports of that time. The TURKS however maintained their ground with ſuch reſolution, as rendered all the attempts of the enemy abortive.

The PERSIAN army paſſed the winter near their own frontiers. NADIR ſeemed to think it neceſſary to keep himſelf in readineſs againſt the inteſtine commotions of his own country, and at the ſame time to watch the motions of the TURKS, who were reſolved to make their greateſt efforts the next campaign.

Near the end of this year, ACHMED KHAN, a PERSIAN general, fled to CONSTANTINOPLE from the tyranny of his maſter. The TURKS received him with diffidence, leſt his pretended flight ſhould be one of thoſe ſtratagems which their artful enemy NADIR had ſo often played againſt them. The KHAN however gave them ſuch convincing proofs of the real cauſe of his abandoning his late maſter, that he was received into the confidence of the TURKISH miniſters. He flattered them into a belief, that if they would exert themſelves, and ſend a large army into the field, the PERSIANS, being once intimidated, would deſert in whole ſquadrons. This opinion was founded on his knowledge of the great diſaffection of many of the officers and ſoldiers in the PERSIAN army.

The LESGEES, remembering their defeat in SHIRVAN the beginning of laſt year, were anxious to ſee their haughty enemy humbled to the duſt. For this purpoſe they ſent two embaſſadors to CONSTANTINOPLE, offering to aſſiſt the TURKS with a body of men, in conſideration of a certain ſum of money. They repreſented at the ſame time, how bravely they had defended their liberty againſt the uſurper NADIR, and that they ſtill per-

 ſiſted

1744. fisted in their resolution of defending themselves. It had not been the custom of the LESGEES for some ages to leave their mountains to engage in the service of any foreign prince, nor have they often marched farther than SHIRVAN and GEORGIA to fight their own battles; but their present circumstances induced them to make this offer, to engage in the TURKISH service, as the SWISS do in that of FRANCE. The PORT received these embassadors with great marks of distinction, and gave them very fair promises; but we do not find that they were so satisfactory to the crafty LESGEES, as to engage them to send any succours to join the OTTOMAN army: indeed it was not without the utmost difficulty the grand signior could raise money to pay his national troops.

1745. This year began with preparations for the most powerful army which had yet appeared in the field against the PERSIANS, towards which SERVIA, BOSNIA, and ROMANIA, all contributed their quotas. This numerous army was to be assembled at CARS, in order to open the campaign by the first of APRIL. The TURKS seemed thus determined to make the most vigorous efforts, and free themselves from the dread of their enemy; which could not be done by keeping within their walls. This task was the more difficult, as a continued series of ill fortune had intimidated the OTTOMAN forces; neither were the EUROPEAN troops in the least disposed to pass over into ASIA, as it had generally proved their grave.

In the mean while, the suppression of the rebellions of SHIRVAN, SHIRASS, and ASTRABAD, had humbled the PERSIANS: though, groaning under a tyrannical government, they were in no condition to with-hold their obedience. NADIR being satisfied that he had nothing to fear from his own people for the present, left his son NESR ALI MYRZA with a body of thirty thousand men on the frontiers of PERSIA, and marched his army the beginning of this year into GEORGIA, where he found it most easy to support them, without any danger of molestation. This step gave the TURKS some satisfaction, as it enabled them to form their army; and

and afforded a temporary relief to thoſe towns, againſt which they ap- 1745.
prehended the PERSIAN king would turn his arms.

If the TURKS were ambitious of ſtriking a deciſive blow, NADIR alſo behaved as if he meant to bring the war to an iſſue at one battle; for he took no meaſures to obſtruct the junction of the OTTOMAN forces. About the middle of MAY he ſent orders to his ſon to advance towards ERIVAN, and near the end of JULY both the PERSIAN armies arrived in the neighbourhood of that city.

Two years thus paſſed in rumours of war, and perpetual apprehenſions of battles, without any blow being ſtruck worthy of hiſtorical record: at length the fatal day arrived. The TURKS, having had ſo long a time to compleat their army, their forces were more numerous than in any of the former campaigns againſt the PERSIANS: the SERASKIER, MAHOMMED BASHA, was at the head of a hundred thouſand men. As ſoon as he heard of the motions of the PERSIANS, he left ERZEROUM, and advanced to CARS, where he joined ABDALLAH KOUPROLI: the army under this BASHA conſiſted of thirty thouſand men. The junction of theſe forces, ſupported by a numerous train of artillery, flattered the TURKS into a belief, that it was now their turn to triumph over an enemy who had been ſo long an object of their terror. MAHOMMED BASHA directed his courſe towards ERIVAN, and during his march, he drove ſeveral parties, conſiſting of four or five thouſand PERSIANS, from their entrenchments and advanced poſts.

NADIR SHAH was encamped with fifty thouſand men about ten leagues from ERIVAN, and his ſon, NEZR ALI MYRZA, with thirty thouſand, was advanced near the ſame diſtance. The van guard of the latter being met by the TURKS, a ſkirmiſh enſued, and the PERSIANS immediately retreated to join the main army commanded by the SHAH himſelf. Upon this, NADIR began to move, and ſent a body of his forces to attack the TURKS in the rear, which was executed according to his intention. Being arrived within two leagues of the enemy's camp, he pitched his tents on a riſing ground, neareſt that body of the TURKS commanded by ABDALLAH BASHA. The main body of the OTTOMAN army was encamped

1745. advantageouſly, and defended by entrenchments, and a numerous artillery.

MAHOMMED BASHA had made ſome marches to meet the king of PERSIA, with deſign to give him battle. The third of AUGUST he detached a large body of cavalry, ſupported by a train of artillery; theſe troops being formed into order of battle, advanced upon the PERSIANS, whilſt the BASHA kept his whole army in readineſs to ſuccour them. NADIR gave orders for a detachment of his troops, inferior in number to that of the TURKS, to meet them; and after the firſt diſcharge of their muſquetry, to attack them with their ſabres. The battle laſted from morning till noon with equal fortune, when the SHAH advanced in perſon at the head of a ſtrong reinforcement, and brought on a general engagement. The TURKS diſputed the victory with great obſtinacy, but in the evening they retired to their camp in confuſion. They loſt above twenty thouſand men, great part of them infantry, who were killed in the field of battle, beſides a conſiderable number of priſoners. The PERSIANS purſued them as far as their trenches, and then returned to their own camp a little after ſun-ſet.

A loſs of ſuch importance could not but diſhearten the TURKS, who now ſeemed inclined to remain within their lines. The SHAH, taking advantage of the terror into which he had thrown the enemy, cut off their communication with CARS; by which means they were deprived of a ſupport. Neceſſity therefore compelled them to leave their trenches a ſecond time, not ſo much with deſign to give battle, as to make a deſperate retreat. The eighth of AUGUST they advanced with a large train of artillery, and cannonaded the enemy with great fury. The PERSIANS ſupported the ſhock, and by the help of their own cannon drove them back into their trenches. The TURKS being now more cloſely blockaded in their camp; the ninth of AUGUST, as ſoon as night came on, they abandoned their entrenchments, and leaving their artillery and baggage, retreated towards CARS.

NADIR no ſooner perceived their motions than he ordered a body of his men to follow them. The PERSIANS flung them into diſorder, and made

made great havock: the next day as they followed the TURKS, five leagues on the other ſide the river ARPATSCHAI, a forced engagement enſued, in which the SERASKIER, MAHOMMED BASHA, was ſlain. The PERSIANS then returned in triumph to their camp with five thouſand priſoners, and the head of the SERASKIER. The TURKS acknowledged their loſs upon the whole to be twenty-eight thouſand men, and three BASHAS, beſides the commander in chief; among theſe was ABDALLAH KOUPROLI, the ſon of the SERASKIER KOUPROLI, who was killed in an engagement with the victorious NADIR nine years before. 1745.

It is remarkable, that NADIR proceeded in this action with the utmoſt caution, not ſuffering any of his troops to enter the TURKISH camp after the enemy had deſerted it, till he was certain that this was no ſtratagem to engage his men to plunder, and expoſe them to be attacked at a diſadvantage. The loſs of the PERSIANS on the occaſion of this victory was about eight thouſand men, and ſome of their generals: NADIR himſelf had two horſes killed under him in the firſt battle.

The remains of the TURKISH army arrived at CARS without baggage, artillery or ammunition, and without any order, diſcipline, or commanders of any note, ſo that the hopes of the whole campaign were fruſtrated; and their enemies remained maſters of the field. However, they had leſs to fear from this event than from their former misfortunes in the PERSIAN war, ſince they had the utmoſt reaſon to hope that the farther NADIR marched into their country, the more he would be diſtreſſed by the rebellions which were ready to burſt forth on every ſide of his PERSIAN dominions. The TURKISH miniſtry therefore ſtill perſiſted in ſupporting the war; and in DECEMBER following the PORT publiſhed a manifeſto ſetting forth the reaſons of this reſolution, in order to convince the people of the neceſſity of this meaſure, till NADIR SHAH ſhould accept propoſals of peace leſs dangerous and diſhonourable to the OTTOMAN empire than any he had offered. To confirm their reſolution, the grand vizir ſent orders that all the troops in NATOLIA ſhould hold themſelves in readineſs to march, in order to join the army at CARS.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

NADIR *makes a peace with the* TURKS. *The* RUSSIANS *ſend an embaſſador to* NADIR. *Revolt of the* GEORGIANS. NADIR's *barbarities at* ISPAHAN *and* KHERMAN. *Revolt of* THAMARAS KHAN, *and* ALI KOULI KHAN.

1745. NADIR ſaw too well the danger impending from inteſtine commotions in PERSIA, to entertain any thoughts of purſuing his victories againſt the TURKS: he rather choſe to enter into as ſpeedy an accommodation with them as poſſible. For this purpoſe he ſent ALI BEG, with a retinue of ſixty perſons, as embaſſador to the grand ſignior. The 17th of JANUARY this miniſter was conducted with the ordinary ceremonies to an audience of the OTTOMAN emperor, who received him with great marks of reſpect. The vizir at the ſame time informed him, that he might be aſſured, notwithſtanding the misfortunes they had met with in the war with PERSIA, unleſs the SHAH would make propoſitions more conſiſtent with the honour of the grand ſignior, it would be impoſſible to agree to a peace. As this embaſſador had no full powers to negotiate, but was chiefly charged with a letter expreſſing the good intentions of his maſter: the grand ſignior replied, that he was ſincerely diſpoſed to conclude a peace, as ſoon as the SHAH would agree to ſuch terms as might render it ſolid and laſting; and that in conformity to the SHAH's propoſals of friendſhip, he would immediately order plenipotentiaries to the frontiers of PERSIA: that theſe, together with ALI BASHA the SERASKIER who commanded at CARS, might agree with the SHAH on a place moſt convenient to open the conferences. Accordingly, towards the cloſe of
1746. FEBRUARY, three miniſters were diſpatched a few days before the departure of the PERSIAN embaſſador from CONSTANTINOPLE. In order that theſe conferences ſhould produce their effect, directions were given to haſten the preparations for the next campaign, in caſe NADIR ſhould, according to his ordinary practice, amuſe the TURKS with the notions of

an accommodation, whilſt he meant only to gain time for purſuing the war with the more vigour when it better ſuited his convenience. 1746.

It is very evident that he had no deſire of peace with the TURKS, any otherwiſe than as his own preſervation rendered it neceſſary. In the beginning of the laſt campaign he had declared in very familiar terms, what mighty preſents he would make his ſoldiers, after he had ſet up his ſtandard on the ramparts of CONSTANTINOPLE; a project not altogether improbable, could he have found the art of ſacrificing his avarice to his ambition, and by that means deliver his people from the miſeries under which they groaned.

It was remarkable in all the wars which NADIR waged againſt the OTTOMAN empire, that the EUROPEAN TURKS no ſooner entered ASIA, than they became enervated. Beſides, the cloathing of the TURKS being ſo much longer than that of the PERSIANS, the former were under a very great diſadvantage in battle [k]; and yet, ſuch is the reverence of mankind for the practice of their forefathers, or their jealous fears of changing for the worſt, that we find the TURKS ſtill adhere to the ſame military dreſs. In EUROPE, where ſuperſtition does not ſo much abound, or at leaſt is differently modified, the cuſtom of loading ſoldiers with unneceſſary cloathing is changed [l], in almoſt every country diſtinguiſhed for the knowledge of military affairs. To all appearance NADIR would have continued ſuperior to the TURKS, unleſs he had puſhed his fortune too far, as generally is the caſe with princes of his genius; but Providence ſets the bounds, which they have not the prudence to fix.

After the battle of ERIVAN, NADIR marched to HAMADAN, to wait the arrival of the TURKISH miniſters, who were ſent to prepare the way for MUSTAPHA EFFENDI, the grand ſignior's embaſſador. In order to prevent the evaſive conduct which NADIR had ordinarily practiſed towards the TURKS, this embaſſador was ordered to return to CONSTANTINOPLE before the year expired. The PORT, ſenſible in what circumſtances the SHAH was, had juſt grounds to believe that the happy period was at length

[k] The TURKS I am told have a method of tucking up their garments, but ſtill they are not ſo much diſengaged [illegible] PERSIANS.

[l] See Vol. II. page 2[illegible]

1746. length arrived, in which they might agree to fix the boundaries of their reſpective dominions; and prevent that diſtreſs and effuſion of blood, in which the ambition of the PERSIAN king had involved the OTTOMAN empire.

ALI BEG, the embaſſador of NADIR SHAH, ſet out towards the end of MARCH, a few days after MUSTAPHA EFFENDI. He left the TURKISH court, with a view to make report to his maſter of the favourable ſentiments of the grand ſignior, with regard to their mutual tranquillity. In the mean while, freſh reinforcements were ſent to CARS and ERZEROUM, in order to give the greater weight to their negotiations. The TURKS ſeemed reſolved to ſuffer the inconvenience of ſupporting a very numerous army, rather than afford occaſion to NADIR for making any exorbitant demands on them. The expence of maintaining theſe forces on the frontiers of their ASIATIC dominions was very great, the country being every where laid waſte; yet this ſtep ſeemed to be abſolutely neceſſary, whilſt NADIR was at the head of ſo formidable an army.

The greateſt part of this year paſſed in negotiations, till at length MUSTAPHA EFFENDI brought this important affair to a happy iſſue; and a peace was concluded, upon the foundation of that of AMURATH IV. except that the PERSIANS were to enjoy the liberty of making the pilgrimage of MECCA, without acknowledging the TURKISH juriſdiction; and to have alſo a liberty to eſtabliſh a PERSIAN prieſt at the town of MESCHED ALI, near BAGDAT. The titles which NADIR aſſumed upon this occaſion were, "The moſt exalted and moſt generous prince; bril-"liant as the moon, and reſplendent as the ſun. The jewel of the "world; the center of the beauty of muſſulmen, and of the true faith "of MAHOMMED. The ſovereign, whoſe troops are equal in number "to the ſtars, and who ſits on the throne of XERXES."

The grand ſignior, not to be out-done in pomp of words, arrogated the titles of "The ſovereign who is the ſhadow of GOD; the mirrour "of juſtice; the aſylum of the true believers; the king of kings, whoſe "troops are equal in number to the ſtars; the true ſucceſſor of the Ca-

" liphs; the ſervant of the two ſacred and noble cities [m]; the lord of 1746.
" the two countries, and of the two ſeas [n]; ſultan, ſon of a ſultan; the
" moſt powerful, the moſt formidable, moſt magnificent, moſt generous
" emperor SULTAN MAHOMMED the conqueror, ſon of MUSTAPHA the
" conqueror [o]."

The SERASKIER, ALI BASHA, who commanded on the frontier of PERSIA, was ordered to return into EUROPE, to take poſſeſſion of his government of BOSNIA. The grand ſignior's court was in great joy on account of this peace; eſpecially as NADIR declared himſelf an adherent to the doctrine of HANNIFA, in oppoſition to thoſe expounders of the MAHOMMEDAN law, whoſe opinion the PERSIANS had generally adopted. The renovation of their treaty with the courts of ST. PETERSBURG and VIENNA, added alſo to the ſatisfaction, and induced them to believe it would be permanent. The next great object of their attention, was the preparation of a ſplendid embaſſy to ISFAHAN, near which city NADIR was encamped with his forces. In the mean while, the PERSIAN monarch appointed MUSTAPHA KHAN his embaſſador to the grand ſignior.

We have already obſerved that the RUSSIAN court had not yet ſent any formal embaſſy to NADIR, ſince his acceſſion to the throne of PERSIA: it was therefore thought high time to perform this ceremonial, and obviate the ill effects which a ſeeming diſregard might produce, now that NADIR had no foreign enemy againſt whom to employ his forces. The impreſſions which the RUSSIANS as well as the TURKS had conceived, prevented in a great meaſure the belief that the fate of this mighty conqueror was ſo near at hand. KNEZ GALITZEN was accordingly appointed embaſſador on the part of her preſent imperial majeſty of RUSSIA [p].

NADIR having left his northern dominions, ſent into GEORGIA to demand all the ſons of their nobility to attend his camp. A ſtep of this nature

[m] MECCA and MEDINA. [n] Generally underſtood the CASPIAN and BLACK SEAS.
[o] This treaty was not ſigned till the 11th of JANUARY 1747. [p] See account of this embaſſy, Vol. I. Chapters LIV. LV. LVI. and LVIII.

1746. nature could not but give theſe brave people great offence, eſpecially as it ſeemed to indicate his jealouſy of them, and that he meant to hold their ſons as hoſtages, with a view to retain the people in their obedience. The GEORGIANS reſolved to take up arms rather than ſubmit; and to this they were the more induced, by the reports that the flames of rebellion had reached the eaſtern parts of PERSIA. Thus encouraged, they repulſed a body of PERSIAN troops, which were ſent into their country to levy taxes, and keep them in awe.

Whilſt NADIR was in the neighbourhood of ISFAHAN, he received intelligence that a rebellion was breaking out in the borders of KHORASAN. This province, which had received ſuch diſtinguiſhed marks of his favour, was reduced to the ſame degree of miſery as the other parts of the empire[1]: but the ABDOLLEES of HERAT were the moſt impatient of the yoke. Under theſe circumſtances, what could be expected from the cruel avaricious NADIR? From an inceſſant fatigue and labour of mind, attended with ſome infirmities of body, he had contracted a diſpoſition, which in the generality of mankind is called by the name of peeviſhneſs, but in him was a diabolical fierceneſs, with a total inſenſibility of human ſufferings. His avidity, as common to fickly minds, increaſed with his years; and in order to indulge it, he ſeemed reſolved to perform ſome maſter-ſtroke of cruelty. During his ſtay at ISFAHAN, he committed barbarities beyond any of the former years of his reign. This antient city, long eſteemed the paradiſe of the PERSIAN monarchy, had in common with all PERSIA felt the fatal conſequences of invaſions and civil wars. The tyranny of NADIR had made a great progreſs in that ruin, which he now ſeemed determined to compleat. He made the heavieſt exactions on the city and the adjacent country, and put to death numbers of the inhabitants: among theſe were ſeveral INDIAN and ARMENIAN merchants, whom he cauſed to be burnt alive. It was pretended that they had bought ſome horſe capariſons belonging to SHAH HUSSEIN, from which they had cut off the pearls, without accounting with him for their full value. However true this might be, it could not be deemed a ſufficient reaſon for ſuch barbarities. It is probable, that he ſuſpected the

[1] See Vol. II. page 25.

the ARMENIANS held a correſpondence with the rebel GEORGIANS; and 1746.
that the INDIANS in their commerce with KANDAHAR, might take occaſion to mention the ſtate of affairs in the northern and weſtern parts of the empire.

In JANUARY 1747 he left ISFAHAN, and marched with his forces to 1747.
KHERMAN. Here his cruelties were not inferior to thoſe he had exerciſed at ISFAHAN; being reſtrained by no ties of juſtice, nor the tears of the miſerable; by no regards of hoſpitality, nor even the protection due to ſtrangers: among other outrages, he cauſed the interpreter of the DUTCH factors to be beaten with ſticks, after the PERSIAN manner, till he expired; pretending, that a PERSIAN of diſtinction had depoſited in his hands a large ſum of money.

From KHERMAN he proceeded to MESCHED, where he continued to practiſe the greateſt barbarities; few perſons of any note, whether military men or merchants, PERSIANS or ARMENIANS, eſcaped without the loſs of one or both their eyes. He then directed his courſe to KÆLAT, the grand repoſitory of his treaſure. It was imagined, that he intended to put things in readineſs for his reception in that ſtrong place, after the execution of his projects.

Upon the breaking out of the rebellion in the province of HERAT, he had given orders to his nephew ALI KOULI KHAN, then at MESCHED, to march againſt the ABDOLLEES with a large body of forces; ſtrictly enjoining him, that whatever the exigencies of affairs might be, not to unite his troops with thoſe of TAMARAS KHAN. The latter commanded in the eaſtern frontiers, and was reputed a man of great experience and knowledge of war[r]: he alſo had the ſame injunction with regard to ALI KOULI KHAN; however, they entered into a correſpondence, which produced a mutual regard, and terminated in the junction of their forces.

NADIR was thus extremely alarmed; it ſeemed as if he was betrayed on every ſide, and moſt of all by his own nephew. Things being thus circumſtanced, he wrote to ALI KOULI KHAN, to ſend TAMARAS KHAN

[r] It is ſaid [redacted] KHAN had formed a regiment of infantry after [redacted] EUROPEAN manner.

1747. to him as a prifoner; and apprehenfive that his nephew might not obey thofe commands, foon after he fent orders to TAMARAS KHAN, to arreft his nephew, and fend him to his camp. Neither of thefe orders were obeyed; on the contrary, a mutual communication of them produced a firmer union, and more vigorous meafures for their fecurity.

When NADIR found that neither of thefe generals were obedient, and that the junction of their forces rendered them at leaft as formidable as the royal army, he tried a further expedient to feparate them, which was to fend a meffage to his nephew, conceived in very gentle terms, defiring him to come to his camp. ALI KOULI KHAN excufed himfelf, alledging that the rebellion was not fuppreffed, and confequently his abfence would be attended with dangerous confequences. In the mean while TAMARAS KHAN had the fame invitation, and pleaded want of health.

CHAP. XXXIV.

NADIR *marches to* MESCHED; *and from thence to the plains of* SULTAN MEYDAN. *He intends to maffacre part of his own army, but is himfelf affaffinated. Difperfion of the* PERSIAN *army. Motives of* NADIR'S *fuppofed intention of a maffacre. Reflection on his death.*

IN this critical fituation of affairs, NADIR took the refolution of marching to MESCHED, where he arrived towards the end of MAY. Thofe who had efcaped the barbarity of his officers, became the objects of his avarice, which was aggravated to a wanton fiercenefs in every fpecies of cruelty. He then marched into the plains of SULTAN MEYDAN, a day's journey to the north-weft of MESCHED. Here it is faid he called before him fome of the chiefs of the OUSBEGS, TURKUMANS, and other TARTARS, who compofed a great part of his army, and having fworn them to fecrefy and obedience, he difclofed his defign of putting to the fword all the PERSIANS in his camp; and that he would play off a fky-rocket at twelve in the night, as a fignal to begin the maffacre: that when

when this work was done, he would load them with money and great honours; propoſing, after he had erected a huge pyramid of PERSIAN heads, to retire and end his days at KÆLAT. 1747.

A GEORGIAN ſlave in NADIR's tent accidentally over-heard ſome part of the conference, in which this bloody plot was reſolved on. He immediately found means to diſcover the ſecret to the KURTCHI BASHI, who when night approached ſent for ſeveral of the principal PERSIAN officers of the army, and communicated this extraordinary piece of intelligence. They immediately diſpatched ſcouts to obſerve the motions of the TARTARS, many of whom were reported to be whetting their ſabres, as if ſome expedition was intended. Minds deeply tinctured with jealouſy ſoon take alarm; the leaſt intimation of a deſign ſo horrid as this, might confirm their belief of it. Under this fatal extremity, what reſolution could be taken but that NADIR himſelf ſhould die?

SALEH BEG, an officer of great intrepidity, and colonel of the body-guard of AFSHARS, offered his ſervice for this purpoſe, and demanded only four choſen men as followers. The uſual time of NADIR's going to reſt being paſt, and a few hours before the ſignal for the intended maſſacre, SALEH BEG and his followers, under a pretence of urgent buſineſs, with ſome kind of violence paſſed the guard; and ruſhing into the outward partition of the harram met an eunuch, whom they diſpatched. From thence they proceeded into the harram, where they met an old woman, whom they alſo killed. They were yet at a loſs in which of the tents[a] NADIR ſlept, till by the light of a lamp they diſcovered ſome jewels: here they ruſhed in and found him. Either he had not yet ſlept, or was awakened by the cries of the woman, and roſe from his bed. When the aſſaſſins approached him, NADIR drew his ſabre, and demanded what buſineſs they had: SALEH BEG made no anſwer, but immediately cut him with his ſabre on the left ſide of his collar-bone. This did not prevent the SHAH's collecting force ſufficient to kill two of the ſoldiers who came up to him to finiſh their leader's buſineſs. He was then retiring out of his tent, when the cords of it tripped him,

[a] There are many tents within one common incloſure.

1747. him, and SALEH BEG gave him a mortal wound. NADIR cry'd, "Mercy, "and I will forgive you all;" to which this officer reply'd, "You have "not ſhewn any mercy, and therefore merit none."

SALEH BEG having performed this important buſineſs, cut off NADIR's head. The TARTARS, to whom the tyrant had always ſhewn a diſtinguiſhed preference, no ſooner heard that he was killed, than they expreſſed the higheſt reſentment, and took to their arms; upon which a general pillage and confuſion enſued: in ſeveral quarters of the army they attacked the PERSIANS, at once to revenge the death of their general, and afford the better opportunity of plunder [t]; ſo that before daylight above five thouſand men on both ſides were ſlain. The body of the ſlaughter'd NADIR was then produced; the TARTARS inſiſted on ſeeing his head alſo, and being ſatisfied that he was really dead, the whole army diſperſed. Some of them joined the forces of ALI KOULI KHAN, who at that time was at no great diſtance. Others fought their reſpective homes, if ſuch homes could then be found after ſo great a change of affairs, and after a continued campaign for eighteen years.

It is more than poſſible that a maſſacre of the PERSIANS in NADIR's army was really intended, however incredible the thing may appear. Maſſacres have been known even in the chriſtian world, for the purpoſes of zeal, ambition, or falſe glory. The affair of DEHLIE is a proof that ſuch a thought was not ſtrange to the mind of NADIR. It is natural for mankind to propoſe ſome end to themſelves, as the reward of their labours; which can be no other than the enjoyment of reſt. This happens even to men who are formed only for action, and upon the trial enjoy no ſatisfaction in reſt; ſo much does the mind long for ſome change in which life may become more grateful. NADIR's avarice was no longer ſupportable; he had filled up the meaſure of his iniquities; he had ruined PERSIA; he had loſt the affections of his ſubjects, to a degree that converted all their ſentiments of obedience into a thirſt of revenge, which they only wanted an opportunity to gratify; he knew this,

[t] I have never been able to get any information concerning thoſe large jewels which ornamented the five ſets of horſe-furniture belonging to NADIR. It is probable they were pillaged, or buryed and loſt on this occaſion.

this, and had no ſenſibility of their ſufferings. By the ſtrength of his own underſtanding, he might eaſily foreſee his fate approaching, if he did not take ſome deſperate means to prevent it. His nephew and TAMARAS KHAN, or himſelf, muſt fall; unleſs he could ſecure a ſafe retreat in KÆLAT. This was hardly poſſible, whilſt he was ſurrounded by numbers who ſought his deſtruction, and would carry their wiſhes into execution, upon the leaſt diminution of his authority. 1747.

Many reaſons may be aſſigned, why ſuch a man under ſuch circumſtances, ſhould have recourſe to this expedient; ſince the complicated motives of revenge and cruelty, with deſpair of his own preſervation on other terms, might ſuggeſt it to him. On the other hand there are many circumſtances which do not favour the opinion; but it was generally reported and believed by the PERSIANS. The manifeſto's publiſhed after NADIR's death, only mention his cruelty and avarice in general. ALI KOULI KHAN does acknowledge that he was in a conſpiracy againſt his uncle, and that he had ſent a perſon on purpoſe to perpetrate the fact; conſequently it might have been effected, without any ſuch motive as the apprehenſion of an intended maſſacre. It is however probable, that NADIR was not without ſuſpicion of the deſign of his nephew; and, if he intended the maſſacre, we may ſuppoſe it was in conſequence of that ſuſpicion.

Common ſenſe and experience might teach us, that NADIR's conduct would produce a violent death at one time or other: no occaſion could be more inviting than this: for beſides all the terrors of his paſt cruelty, his army had nothing before their eyes, but the dreadful ſcene of civil wars, which had already laid waſte ſo great a part of their country. The joint forces of ALI KOULI KHAN and TAMARAS KHAN had not yet committed any hoſtilities; yet were theſe leaders in a ſtate of rebellion; and it was obvious, that they would never ſubmit to NADIR, but by compulſive means. And for whom was NADIR's army to fight? For a man whom they deteſted as a monſter of cruelty and oppreſſion.

Thus fell this ſcourge of the eaſtern world, at the age of ſixty-one, after a reign of eleven years and three months, leaving a fatal proof how much

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1747. much it is in one man's power, in an age of great corruption, to plunge a whole nation into an abyſs of miſery; teaching alſo a leſſon, that the ſovereign who converts the mercy and juſtice which ought to grace a throne into oppreſſion and cruelty, muſt expect that Providence will ſet bounds to his iniquity. By his example we likewiſe learn, that the moſt ambitious prince can never arrive at the power of doing much miſchief, till a people are devoted to a vain and luxurious life, eager only in the purſuit of trivial and unworthy gratifications, corrupt to an extreme, and loſt to all ſenſe of virtue. Could PERSIA have thus groaned under a world of miſeries, but by the iniquity of PERSIANS? That iniquity became the inſtrument of their tyrant's power; and never will there want a tyrant in any country, when the people are arrived to ſuch an extreme of venality and corruption.

PART

PART VI.

THE CHARACTER OF NADIR SHAH.

CHAP. XXXV.

Reflections on the death and general character of NADIR SHAH. *An account of his perſon, voice, ſtrength, arms, valour, memory, diet, dreſs, love of women, cruelty, avarice, diſtruſt, artfulneſs, clemency, liberality, generalſhip, politics,* &c.

AS the ſoul has certainly a conſciouſneſs after death, we muſt now leave poor NADIR to reviſe his own actions, and to conſider if an obſcure and early death had not been preferable to all the pleaſures and triumphs of his life; but he is in the hands of that Judge, whoſe laws it is our honour and happineſs to obey, and whoſe councils it is impiety to ſcrutinize.

The actions of this uſurper made ſuch a ſplendid figure even in the eyes of the EUROPEAN world, that for many years it was doubtful on what principles he acted; and conſequently what praiſes were his due. Time has now taught us to ſtrip them of all diſguiſe; and as he who yeſterday was lord of the lives of millions, is now levelled with the meaneſt, and it may be feared the vileſt of men, we may ſpeak of him without reſerve. We may expatiate freely on the wonderful abilities by which he captivated thoſe who were the inſtruments of his impiety.

Fortune and ſucceſs are apt to dazzle the tender ſight of mortal man; and to repreſent things as glorious, which in their nature are deteſtable.

What millions has the phantom FALSE GLORY ſacrificed at her altars! The actions of great conquerors, how unworthy ſoever, are often viewed in diſtant ages and remote regions, not with wonder and amazement only, but even with envy. But the proſpect of eternity muſt convince us, that to die for the ſervice of our fellow-creatures is really glorious; whilſt thoſe who trample upon a proſtrate world, and violate the laws of humanity, are but as dreadful ſtorms, or peſtilential blaſts, to execute the wrath of an offended GOD. Men who trace the paths of glory by the light of fire and ſword, can have no right to be remembered, except it be with horror or indignation.

To enter deep into the characters of men, even of our own country and religion, is no vulgar taſk; but if we travel into remoter regions, where the manners and genius of a nation differ very much, to unravel all the foldings of a heart, diſtinguiſhed from among a whole people, by a mixture of qualities unintelligible upon common principles, the underſtanding is puzzled. In characters like that of NADIR KOULI, we may trace out the cruelty of a NERO; the ſubtlety of a HANNIBAL; the valour of a SCIPIO; the artfulneſs of a CROMWELL; with the fortune, as well as the cataſtrophe, of a CÆSAR: nor will theſe make up the compoſition, till we add the avarice of a VESPASIAN; and blend them all with an unpoliſhed brutal temper, ſuch as mean educations are apt to exhibit, when poſſeſſed of great power.

The minuteſt circumſtances relating to thoſe, who have been the objects of our aſtoniſhment, afford ſatisfaction to the mind. I will therefore mention ſuch particulars, relating to NADIR KOULI, as have reached my knowledge, and which did not occur, or could not be ſo properly inſerted, in the body of this hiſtorical account. Thoſe, to whom his perſon was familiarly known, agree that his countenance was expreſſive rather of an ingenuous mind, than a cruel diſpoſition. He was an AFSHAR, as already mentioned; and his face was rounder, and his noſe leſs inclined to the ROMAN, than the PERSIANS generally are. His hair was black; his eyes large and expreſſive; his forehead high; and his

complexion ſwarthy. His body was robuſt; and his ſtature about ſix feet: his ſhoulders were round [t]. His whole countenance and perſon were awful, particularly when he ſpoke.

His voice was ſo ſtrong and ſonorous, as to be audible to an incredible diſtance; and the effect it had upon his own ſoldiers, as well as an enemy, when he gave his commands in the field of battle, proved one great ſtep to his advancement to the regal power.

His corporal ſtrength was not leſs inſtrumental to his fortune. The extreme indulgence which had been ſhewn him by nature in the vigour of his conſtitution, received an accumulated force by the habit of his life. The battle-ax is one of the moſt antient weapons among the ORIENTALS, but it had been for ſome years much neglected in PERSIA; NADIR reſtored the uſe of it in a more particular manner: it was his favourite weapon, inſomuch that before he aſſumed the diadem, he was generally ſtiled the AX-KHAN. Afterwards he was often ſeen with a battle-ax in his hand, playing with it in his tent of audience. His blows with this weapon carried with them inevitable death, of which he gave many proofs.

His memory was as remarkable, as his perfect knowledge of the genius and temper of the PERSIANS. He could at all times eaſily recollect the names, perſons, and characters, of all thoſe with whom he had any connection [u]. He had ſtudied the ſtate of the finances, and knew the particular revenues of every province: but he was ſo great a maſter of the art of ways and means, that he over-ſhot his mark, and by his oppreſſions quite deſtroyed his own end. As he had no turn to contemplation, his ſpirits were free and untired by any reflections but what immediately aroſe from his

[t] The ORIENTAL people generally are round-ſhouldered, ariſing from their manner of ſitting, and this occaſions there being very little of majeſty in their gait. [u] What is related of him concerning his dictating to ſeveral ſecretaries at the ſame time, I apprehend aroſe from the notion that JULIUS CÆSAR did this. I will not diſpute the abilities of either the ROMAN or the PERSIAN hero; but as the letters of the latter are contained in few words, the matter being given in general terms, the ſecretary performs the office, and then reads the letter. And here it may be obſerved, that there have been ſome inſtances of their reading differently from what they wrote, which has been the occaſion of great [illegible] perplexities.

his employments in the field. He was far advanced in life before he had learnt to read; nor did any part of his knowledge depend the leaſt on books. His preſence of mind was very remarkable [x]; and his reſolutions were almoſt as quick as his thoughts: hence he did many things extravagant and abſurd.

At one part of his life he drank freely of wine and brandy, but afterwards abſtained from the latter entirely, and uſed the former in ſuch a proportion only, as gave the greater energy to his thoughts, and ſupported the activity and ſtrength of his body. The uſe of wine is contrary to the MAHOMMEDAN law, but his example recommended it to his ſoldiers. He uſed to feed liberally upon a ſimple diet; yet he would march a whole day upon the ſtrength of a few parched peaſe, which it is common for the PERSIANS to carry in their pockets.

His dreſs was not remarkable; his mind ſeemed to be ſuperior to external pomp or luxurious ſoftneſs. His pride was in precious ſtones [y], with which his diadem was adorned, and he wore ſeveral in his turbant alſo. He was often ſeen with a large ſaphire in his hand, with which he uſed to amuſe himſelf in his tent. It was ſaid, that he always wore a coat of mail of chain-work under his cloaths: this is not improbable, conſidering the knowledge he had of the reſentment of the people towards him. He affected to go thinly clad, and recommended this example to his ſoldiers.

It is reaſonable to believe, that mens paſſions are ſtrong in proportion to what is generally underſtood by ſtrength of mind, and in ſome meaſure connected with the appetite. Where religion and the cuſtom of a country ſubſcribe to any favourite inclination, it would be ſurprizing, if a man poſſeſſed of a boundleſs power, did not give as boundleſs a ſcope to ſuch inclination. NADIR was remarkable for his love of women. It was ſaid, that ſome years before his death, a virgin was brought to his bed every night: theſe are ſtories however which are ridiculous. He contented himſelf latterly with thirty-three women [z]; ſome

[x] See page 71.

[y] I have already had occaſion to mention the horſe-furnitures, Vol. I. page 255.

[z] Theſe had about the ſame number of female ſervants and attendants, which conſtitute the number mentioned in Vol. I. page 249.

ſome of whom long retained a place in his favour. In his wars in TURKEY, he often carried his ſeraglio with him.

His deteſtation of ſodomy was extreme: but though he had frequent occaſions of making examples of the practiſers of that ſin, yet I never heard that he interfered but once; and then he cauſed the malefactor's eyes to be put out, his ears, his noſe, and his lips to be cut off: under theſe miſerable circumſtances, this man put himſelf to death. In what manner the PERSIANS formerly regarded this ſin, appears from the conduct of SHAH SEFFIE towards a youth, who, in reſiſting this atrocious crime, ſtabbed his own maſter, a KHAN of great diſtinction, for which the SHAH condemned him to be torn to pieces by dogs. The ſame fortitude which induced this youth to deliver himſelf by ſuch deſperate means, ſupported him to the laſt; and he died with the utmoſt bravery.

As to cruelty, it at length became a kind of diverſion to NADIR; this was chiefly excited by avarice, and jealouſy of his own ſecurity, as well as a habit of inſenſibility. I never indeed heard that he put any man to death, in cold blood, with his own hands, after his advancement to the diadem: this is more than can be ſaid of ſome of their former princes, who lawfully poſſeſſed the regal dignity; for the PERSIAN kings through many ages have been remarkable for great inhumanity. How very different are the chriſtian and MAHOMMEDAN princes? The former, who underſtand their dignity, never appear in caſes of executions[a]; the latter delight to be preſent, being otherwiſe diffident that their orders will not be performed. NADIR ſaw the executions of all thoſe who were put to death in his camp[b], nor ever appeared in the leaſt diſturbed.

When mens crimes become various and complicated, and the judge blends his private paſſions or reſentments with the exerciſe of his office, in what an extremity of miſery muſt a nation be involved, where juſtice is thus adminiſtered?

3

[a] The late king of PORTUGAL was indeed carried away with falſe notions of religion, ſo as to be preſent, incog. at the burning of the JEWS.

[b] The PERSIAN judges, either civil or military, who ſit on cauſes, are obliged to be preſent at the execution of their own ſentences; when it does not extend to death, they mitigate or increaſe as they think proper.

miniſtered? Some inſtances of NADIR's cruelty were the effects of policy. Upon occaſion of his memorable exploit of driving the AFGHANS out of PERSIA[c], when he entered ISPAHAN in triumph, one of his ſoldiers violated the wife of a PERSIAN of diſtinction. The man complained to NADIR, that he could not live after ſo great an indignity; "No," ſays NADIR, "I think you cannot," and immediately ordered him to be ſtrangled. He then explained to his officers the reaſon of his conduct in theſe terms, "I make no doubt but you will conſider me as very cruel, for "taking this man at his word; but what can I do in ſuch times as theſe? "A victorious army cannot always be reſtrained. Had I redreſſed this "man's wrongs, I ſhould have a hundred ſuch complaints made to me, "and my time would be taken up in chaſtiſing my ſoldiers, inſtead of "employing them to conquer the enemies of our country." However, he altered his rule of conduct in this particular, of which I have related ſome inſtances.

He often ſuffered ſeveral to paſs with impunity, though he knew they gave him no leſs harſh an appellation than villain; but towards thoſe who exerciſed their wit in keener ſatyr, he was inexorable. It is a compliment amongſt the PERSIANS, to ſay upon the entrance of a gueſt, "Your place was very void[d]." In the mauſoleum which NADIR cauſed to be built at MESCHED, for his reception after death, ſomebody wrote on the walls in very pathetic terms; "Oh! NADIR, how full of thy "renown is every corner of the earth! Thy name indeed is very great; "but thy place here is very void." Severe inquiſition was made for the author of this writing; it was concluded to be done by ſome man of letters; and many MULLAHS were brought to a trial: to compel them to a diſcovery, ſome were whipt to ſuch an extremity, that they expired under the laſh.

In alluſion to NADIR's exaltation, a certain perſon obſerved of a fountain in ISPAHAN, that the higher the water was thrown up, the greater was the velocity of its fall. NADIR never wanted the baſe inſtruments of tyranny to acquaint him of the minuteſt actions; and this man gratified his wit at no leſs an expence than his life.

None

[c] In 1729.

[d] This anſwers to, Your company was much wanted.

None of their former kings ever inflicted puniſhments in a greater variety, or with circumſtances more whimſical and extravagant, than NADIR. Two perſons of diſtinction wrote to him ſeveral times, complaining of each other: at length they were both ſent for to the camp. It is probable he knew the characters of theſe men; but without entering into the merits of either of their complaints, he pronounced them both raſcals; "And ſince," ſays he, "you are ſo fond of troubling me "with your epiſtles, I will ſpoil your ſport;" accordingly he ordered the eyes of both of them to be put out. His wantonneſs in cruelty was not leſs apparent, in the inſtance I have mentioned of the dancer [e]. Another time he ordered a man's teeth to be pulled out, for no other reaſon than their being buck-teeth. The ſtory of his cauſing SHAVERDI BEG to be beaten, in order that he might remember the charge which was given him [f], had humour and judgment mixed with barbarity.

He treated common men and delinquents of the higheſt rank without much diſtinction of perſons. It was no unuſual ſight in the chancery, to ſee thoſe who had been the day before baſtinadoed almoſt to death, whoſe eyes had been put out, or their noſe cut off, yet brought before him to be further queſtioned. Upon theſe occaſions they have often ſunk down thro' pain or want of reſt: and theſe miſerable objects have been alſo obliged to travel with the camp. When NADIR ſent for any perſon, if he did not inſtantly come, the meſſengers drove him with blows; and thoſe who have made any ſhort delay, to finiſh their prayers [g], or to perform any other weighty buſineſs, have been often baſtinadoed.

The avarice of this tyrant was no leſs remarkable than his cruelty. It was his cuſtom, according to the practice of former kings, to ſend for the governors of the provinces, however remote from his camp, to appear before him every new-year's-day. His intention in this very frequently was to mulct them, or put them to death. His ordinary method was to interrogate them concerning the ſtate and condition of the province,

[e] Vol. I. page 256. [f] Vol. I. page 219. [g] The MAHOMMEDANS are much ſtricter in this reſpect than the chriſtians.

province, and of their own behaviour in particular. From thence he proceeded to trifling and ſuperfluous queſtions, concluding that he ſuppoſed they had defrauded him of large ſums. "How much," ſays he, "of my money have you eaten[h]; and in whoſe hands is it lodged?" Theſe queſtions were ordinarily followed by the baſtinado, to induce them to condemn themſelves, or to accuſe other people of being depoſitaries of conſiderable ſums. It frequently happened that theſe perſons, either to avoid the pain of corporal puniſhments, or with the hopes of being reſtored to their governments, have given in a fictitious liſt of perſons as their debtors, with the ſums due from each, and alſo of effects depoſited in their hands. They even took this occaſion to gratify their private reſentments, by mentioning thoſe as their debtors, who had given them any offence. The conſequence of theſe declarations was the iſſuing a decree, ordering the collection of ſuch ſums and effects by the ſevereſt executions of military law, without any liberty of appeal previous to the payment. If theſe pretended debtors, after a ſevere beating were found incapable of payment, orders were often given to collect ſuch ſums from the province. The governors were frequently guilty of enormous extortions and cruelties, without giving a true account of what they had thus unjuſtly collected; yet the complaints of the people ſeldom obtained them any relief; for the elders or principal perſons of the provinces, who were generally called on to appear as witneſſes againſt their governors, were often compelled to make good their allegations, by paying the deficiency of the SHAH's demands, after the ſequeſtration of the governor's effects. He carried the matter ſo far that upon a certain occaſion, when he found himſelf diſtreſſed how to anſwer one who had vindicated his conduct, he ſaid to him, "You raſcal, did not you drink cold water[i]?"

It does not appear, from any circumſtance of the firſt ſtage of this man's life, that his temper was avaricious. It is natural to believe, that he thought nothing could ſecure his uſurpation better than the poverty of the people, as the moſt effectual means of preventing their rebellions, or of rendering them abortive. This is the beſt argument that can be brought

[h] The ordinary term in PERSIA for embezzlement.

[i] This is an inſtance of ſuch flagrant tyranny, as hardly comes within the limits of belief, yet I have been aſſured that it is really true.

brought in extenuation of that crime, which at length became the great moving principle to drown PERSIA in blood. Poverty without doubt was a great diſcouragement, and often proved a bar to the ſucceſs of their attempts againſt him. But what can we ſay of his unjuſt and cruel treatment of private perſons, merely for the ſake of what they poſſeſſed; where there was not the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect their loyalty?

In 1740, ſeveral diſtricts in GHILAN were ordered to equip ſoldiers for the ſervice of the crown, and to be anſwerable in the penalty of one thouſand crowns [k] for each deſerter. This proved a ſource of oppreſſion; for theſe recruits were generally ill paid, and ill treated in the army, that they might be tempted to deſert; and the payment of the penalty was always rigorouſly exacted of the ſecurities.

When he found himſelf bound in honour to diſapprove of the behaviour of his governors, of whoſe unjuſt conduct all poſſible evidence had been given, his decrees for reſtitution to the complainants were generally expreſſed in ſuch ambiguous terms, as rendered the application for juſtice vexatious, and the iſſue of them oftentimes unſucceſsful. Senſible of his predominant vice, his greateſt officers greedily amaſſed riches, as the ſureſt means of their preſervation; though it frequently happened, thoſe very riches were the cauſe of their deſtruction. Having been often challenged to anſwer for their corruption, ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable amongſt them, at length reſolved to keep a regular account of all preſents they received, that in caſe of need they might produce it: but ſtill it was a misfortune to poſſeſs any money; for NADIR ſeldom thought he had got their all. Shew and equipage is a favourite paſſion among the PERSIANS, yet I obſerved the governors who came to anſwer for their conduct, and other great officers, choſe to walk on foot in the camp, rather than appear in any circumſtances of affluence. As to the officers of inferior rank, they imagined their ſecurity conſiſted in refuſing preſents.

Avarice,

[k] 250*l.*

Avarice, the peculiar weakneſs of old age, increaſed on NADIR with his years: yet his rapaciouſneſs might not be entirely an effect of this paſſion. If we conſider the vaſt expence of his army; the impoſſibility of raiſing taxes upon his people, in the latter part of his reign; and that his ſafety depended on the military power with which he was ſurrounded; his INDIAN treaſure, though reputed very large, was not ſufficient to check his apprehenſions of want. At length he gave a ſtanding order to his miniſters, not to preſent any petitions to him that were repugnant to the intereſt of the crown [m]; by which was plainly meant, that he would do no other act of juſtice in money affairs, than the bare payment of his army.

The ſeizure he made on his own ſoldiers, on the banks of the INDUS, is as diſtinguiſhed a proof of his avarice, as of his reſolution. From that time he laid claim to all diamonds and jewels of value, that were expoſed to ſale in his dominions; alledging, that he had been defrauded of them, on the occaſion of his INDIAN conqueſt; or that they were ſtolen out of his jewel-houſe. He has more than once puniſhed offenders of this ſort with baſtonading, and even with death; and, in theſe caſes, beſide the loſs of the precious ſtones, he inflicted a mulct of equal value.

Jealouſy and diſtruſt, in all their horrid forms, will ever wait in the chambers of tyrants, and torment them "before their time." NADIR's great officers were ſo ſenſible of this, that they were afraid to converſe even with ſtrangers, except when they were upon duty in their tribunals. Neither did they dare to viſit each other in their tents, except in the day-time;

[m] This is a common notion in arbitrary countries, where the prince and his ſubjects are often conſidered in ſo different a light, that many acts of juſtice are omitted, out of a religious regard to the intereſt of the crown, as they are pleaſed to call it. Perhaps it is from the ſame notion, that even in ſo polite and free a country as GREAT BRITAIN, the debts of a deceaſed prince are paid very late, and ſometimes not at all. This conduct ſeems to be void of œconomy, if not of juſtice. If it is underſtood as a condition, that when a prince dies, the tradeſman muſt loſe every thing ought at leaſt to be ſome method in payments whilſt he lives; and, in the mean while, the prince muſt pay dear for all that he conſumes that is bought on truſt.

time; and that only in the preſence of their ſervants, or other witneſſes, leſt a ſuſpicion ſhould be conceived of their caballing againſt him *. He made no ſcruple of telling the people that he was apprized of their diſaffection, but that he neither regarded it nor them. An arrow was ſhot over into his quarters with a libel, accuſing him of tyranny and irreligion; demanding of him if he was a devil or god; a tyrant, a king, or a prophet? That if he was a god, they would ſupplicate his mercy to avert their puniſhment; if a king, they intreated him to ſhew clemency; if a prophet, to produce his miſſion? To this paper NADIR made a very diſpaſſionate anſwer: "I am neither god nor devil, tyrant nor prophet; "but I am one ſent from GOD, to puniſh an iniquitous generation of "men." This anſwer was written, and copies of it annexed to the libel, and placed in the moſt conſpicuous part of the camp: a promiſe of pardon was alſo made to the author, if he would diſcover himſelf; and a conſiderable reward to any perſon who ſhould diſcover him.

Much may be alledged for the ſuſpicious turn which he took; for the PERSIANS are as gentle, ſoft, and perſuaſive in their manners, as they are full of cunning and deceit. They are polite, and affect condeſcenſion to ſtrangers or gueſts; but where they have any power or authority, their deportment is ſelfiſh, haughty, and inſolent: to this we may add a ſtrong propenſity * to rebellion. From his earlieſt life NADIR had an experimental knowledge of them, in all their ſeveral ranks and conditions; and ſeemed now to have adopted as an invariable maxim, that they could be ruled only with a rod of iron. Thus ſeveral cauſes concurred to cheriſh a cruel, jealous diſpoſition. As he mounted the throne by means of the corruption and immorality of the people, policy ſtill required him to ſow the ſeeds of a jealous enmity among the principal perſons under his command.

How dreadful the ſituation of a tyrannical king, when the very union of his ſubjects is the greateſt object of his terror; and their mutual hatred and diſguſt eſſential to his ſupport! Religion was ſtill the

* Though this may not be the proper characteriſtic of the [illegible] be an effect of their preſent immorality, as well as reſentment of tyranny.

cloak to foment animosities. The PERSIANS professed a veneration for ALI, and their expounders of the khoran; whilst the TARTARS, and other nations, of which his army was chiefly composed, were of the sect of the SUNNIS. NADIR ranked himself strictly with neither [p], but was equally attentive to gratify both, whenever the occasion required. His greatest support arose from the multitude of his spies and emissaries, detached into every part of the empire. His public officers and private agents, growing suspicious of each other, were equally impatient of giving the first information, of any secret design, or even disaffection, in prejudice to their master. Thus the nearest relations and most intimate friends, often entertained a jealousy of each other. Those who had any honesty in their nature, might be sometimes tempted for their oaths sake, and to prevent the effusion of blood, to give intelligence; the envious and revengeful to gratify their private passions; his mercenaries for their interest: and almost in general were they desirous of sharing the spoils of ruined provinces; thus tearing out the entrails of their common parent, and rendering themselves instrumental to their own destruction. Every social virtue was neglected; common faith and common honesty were little more among them, than bare names. Under these circumstances, how could they be delivered from the power of one tyrant, without falling into the hands of another?

Whilst NADIR's glory was ripening, it was his policy to make great professions of esteem to those whose services he stood in need of; but afterwards he acted on the wretched maxim, that a king has no friend or relation. Gratitude consequently could not appear as a princely virtue, nor have any seat in his breast; on the contrary, he seemed diffident, that those who were capable of a zealous concern for his interest from a principle of affection, might on the same principle be partial to others also, if his conduct should render him ungrateful to them. This seemed to be the general rule he observed, with some few exceptions; since we find that the vigilance and moderation of MUSTAPHA KHAN and COSSIM KHAN, the only two persons whose conduct I ever heard commended, supported them; and we [illegible] amidst all his cru[illegible] NADIR the

[p] We have already explained his political inclination to the sect of [illegible]

the juſtice to remember, that he cheriſhed theſe men to the laſt. This ſeems to prove how irreſiſtible the charms of virtue are; and that the ſubjects of PERSIA were in general almoſt as little deſerving mercy, as their king was diſpoſed to ſhew it. But the amiable qualities of the mind being ſo rare, they could be no great objects of his dread: the perfections moſt level to his obſervation, and which ſtruck moſt forcibly on his mind, were corporal ſtrength and valour. Though he often ſtood in need of theſe, the perſon who acquired any diſtinguiſhed reputation for them, became the object of his envy, if not of his fear. Of this they told me a remarkable ſtory:

A certain MIM BASHI [q] had often diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the field of battle: his ſkill in the uſe of the ſabre was not leſs extraordinary than his corporal ſtrength, and he was at length made a KHAN. The PERSIANS, in their hyperbolical manner of ſpeaking, ſay, that this man could cut a mule with a pack-ſaddle on her back through at one ſtroke. It is hardly credible how much the PERSIANS eſteem bodily ſtrength and military abilities: NADIR caſt a jealous eye on this perſon; and as if he meant to try his virtue, he gave him the charge of a beautiful girl, to be carried to his brother IBRAHIM KHAN. On the way he debauched her; and IBRAHIM diſcovering the indignity, ſent her back to the king his brother. It is eaſy to imagine, that NADIR could reſent the affront alſo; in ſhort, he vowed to ſhed the blood of the offender. RIZA KOULI MYRZA, then in high favour with his father, had a very particular regard for this officer; he attended the priſoner before the SHAH'S [r] pavilion, pleaded his cauſe, and obtained his pardon. NADIR, for the ſake of his vow, ordered a bit of the offender's ear to be cut off. This however was but a temporary reprieve: ſoon after he was ſent to burn a TURKISH village; but before it was poſſible for him to arrive there, he was recalled, and queſtioned why he had not performed his orders; and after ſeveral imperious inſults, NADIR commanded that he ſhould be ſtrangled. Before the bow-ſtring was thrown about his neck, he made a ſign, as if he had ſomething of importance to communicate; and, as is uſual in ſuch

[q] a thouſand horſe.

[r] The circumſtances ſeem to indicate, that this event was declared king.

ſuch caſes, a ſuſpenſion was permitted. The KHAN availed himſelf of this interval, to plunge out of the hands of the executioners; and ſeizing the ſabre of one near him, ruſhed forward towards the SHAH, who roſe from his ſeat, and retired before his enemy. The attendants near the royal pavilion interpoſed, and killed the delinquent, but not before he had ſlain three of them. This circumſtance was one great cauſe, why the people in general, as well as the priſoners, who were brought before the SHAH, were kept at a greater diſtance than common.

The natural pride of the human heart is flattered, when our ſuperiors bring themſelves down to our level. The general, who is not over-tender of his perſon, becomes the minion of the common ſoldiers; but if to courage he adds liberality, he ſubdues their hearts. NADIR was a maſter of every art of this ſort, and in his firſt appearances in life, gained the univerſal affection of the army. He was no ſooner veſted with a command, than he became aſſiduous to ingratiate *himſelf* with the ſoldiers, not only by procuring them their pay in due time, but alſo good cloathing at an eaſy price, with the addition of occaſional gifts. He was not ignorant of the uſe of clemency, in circumſtances of great importance. A party of OUSBEGS, who had done him ſignal ſervice in battle, afterwards deſerted from him: he ſent a body of troops, and brought them to his camp as priſoners: they expected death; but he bid them continue to ſerve him faithfully, as they had already done, and made every private man the preſent of fifty crowns, and gave five hundred to each officer. The revolt of ſoldiers, on whom he moſt depended for the ſecurity of his perſon, as well as the advancement of his glory, might have been attended with very dangerous conſequences. But he no ſooner carried his point, than he adopted new principles. Common prudence indeed obliged him to be watchful of the œconomy of his army; yet the meanneſs of his education could not be corrected *by his* advancement to the diadem; and whilſt jealouſy and diſtruſt became his conſtant companions, cruelty and avarice gained the aſcendant over him, in every action of the latter part of his life; this appeared in many circumſtances, not only towards his army, but to the people in general.

No part of NADIR's character was more diſtinguiſhed, than that of a general; he lived in the field in the ſeveral characters of a peaſant, a captive, a ſervant, a robber, a ſoldier, a general, and a king. Bred up in all the arts and ſubtleties of the TARTARS, he acquired a great proficiency in the practical knowledge of robbery. Hence it is eaſy to imagine, that a perſon of his extraordinary natural talents and perſonal ſtrength, ſhould become forward, bold, and enterprizing. Enured to a military life, he acquired a ſtrong inclination for that variety which a continued change of place is apt to create. The intrepidity which he poſſeſſed in ſo eminent a degree, is a dazling quality among men profeſſing arms; but ſucceſs eſtabliſhed his character as an able and fortunate general. His perſon and voice were inſtrumental to his promotion, but his valour was not leſs ſo. They ſeem to have acted reciprocally on each other; and the conſciouſneſs of his ſuperiority over moſt other men, rendered him dauntleſs to a degree of amazement; yet were his motions generally directed with great prudence: the ſame preſence of mind which aſſiſted him on all emergencies, taught him alſo how to conſult his own ſafety; for it cannot be imputed entirely to fortune, that he was never wounded. In the height of his grandeur, he would upon any emergency, out-march his baggage, and ſuffer any hardſhip incident to a common ſoldier.

His quickneſs of obſervation where his forces were weakeſt, and his preſence of mind in ſuccouring them, ever gave him a wonderful ſuperiority over his enemies. His reſolution ſeemed to inſpire his people with a determined purpoſe to conquer or die; nor did his officers ever behave ill with impunity. In action, he generally tired many horſes, being never long miſſing where his preſence was needful. Upon theſe occaſions he was wont to addreſs his men in ſuch familiar terms, as ſeemed to demonſtrate an opinion, that a ſoldier will not perform his duty well, when he has no regard for his general. He found it indiſpenſably neceſſary to keep his army in motion, to prevent thoſe conſpiracies, for which a great part of his ſoldiers were always ripe; by this means alſo, the p[illegible] the remote parts of the empire were kept in awe, and

he was ready to oppoſe the invaſion of his neighbours, or to make conqueſts.

As he enjoyed great health, and was enured to exerciſe, his activity was hardly to be exceeded. His mind was ſtrongly tinctured with the notion of predeſtination, and he became ſo much the more dauntleſs by it; yet we do not find that he fell into the abſurd practice of deviating from the dictates of common ſenſe, with which this erroneous principle ſometimes affects its votaries. He ſeldom placed a confidence that was unneceſſary, or expoſed himſelf to a danger that was avoidable. In the conduct of his wars, he ever preferred ſtratagems to force. His marches were always amazingly rapid, and his progreſs ſo irregular, and contrary to the ordinary rules of war, that he confounded his enemies. Thus he often defeated their beſt laid ſchemes, and attacked them where they were leaſt able to defend themſelves. Yet in matters of the greateſt moment, his reſolutions were generally ſo quick and ſurpaſſing ordinary apprehenſions, that it ſeemed doubtful whether they were the effects of a ſolid judgment, or a blind temerity. Under the difficulties in which he was often involved, irreſolution ſeemed to be what he dreaded moſt; nor did he dare to aſk advice, leſt he ſhould weaken the ſuperiority by which he governed. The neighbouring MAHOMMEDAN ſtates, after ſome years knowledge of him, conceived ſuch an opinion of his penetration, and ſuch a dread from his fortune, as to aſcribe to him a kind of preternatural power. The ſame notions, among his own people, often led them to betray themſelves, and deſert their own cauſe.

As to religion, it was uncertain what his notions were: before a battle, it was his conſtant cuſtom to proſtrate himſelf for the ſpace of a minute, and make an ejaculatory prayer; this being the chief, if not the ſole act of religion, of which he gave any demonſtration, as the PERSIANS confidently relate of him.

Never was a man more indefatigable with regard to perſonal application and attendance to every duty of a commander: and it was his practice in the height of ſummer, and ſometimes [redacted] other ſeaſons, to come to his tent of audience early in the morning, often making it a ſecond [redacted] noon, and

and ſpending many hours of the evening in the ſame manner. He was punctual in the payment of his army, and took a ſurprizing care that his camp ſhould be ſupplied with the neceſſaries of life; but at the ſame time he received great advantages by being the ſole vender of cloth, and ſome other commodities to his ſoldiers, conſtantly employing a perſon under the denomination of the SHAH's merchant.

Whether it aroſe from the ſuperiority of his genius that he neglected forms, or from the narrowneſs of his education that he could not fill up the character, he often forgot the dignity of a king. Upon the occaſion of his giving a government to a certain perſon, he ſpoke to this effect: "Remember that you are not to have any communication with the "MULLAH[s]; but I know that you will go to him by night[t], and you "will talk of me; he will confeſs there is not ſuch a king in the world "as I am, but at the ſame time he will tell you I am a raſcal[u], and "have no mercy: take heed how you liſten to his ſuggeſtions." Nor was he leſs ingenuous upon many occaſions. Having aſked if there were any prince on the earth greater than himſelf and the grand ſignior; and being anſwered, that there were not any, he replied, "You are miſ-"taken; the BASHA of BAGDAT is greater than either of us; for both "of us have been endeavouring to reduce him to our ſubjection, but his "fortune and conduct have been ſuperior to our attempts[v]."

Many circumſtances of the politics of this extraordinary man were unfathomable, particularly in his puniſhing offenders; petty crimes he often chaſtiſed with heavy puniſhments, whilſt offences of the blackeſt dye ſometimes paſſed with impunity, or a ſlight reſentment. Even thoſe who had been in open rebellion againſt him, he has more than once reinſtated in their office, or preferred them to greater dignities, of which TAGHI KHAN is a remarkable inſtance. Thus he ſeemed inclined to truſt thoſe who had been his avowed enemies, rather than ſuch as he had not yet proved.

In

[s] A certain [illegible] whom NADIR ſuſpected of [illegible] affection. [t] He alſo mentioned the room where [illegible] with other circumſtances. [u] KURUMSACK. [v] As mentioned page [illegible]

In the latter part of his reign he had no counſellor; and his miniſters in moſt repute were ſo far from being admitted to any kind of familiarity, that they dared not enter his tent. When they had buſineſs with him, they ſtood in the open air within the ſemicircle of his attendants, being rarely allowed to ſit down. It *muſt* be obſerved, that the rank to which he promoted them was a reward for their valour, and their knowledge of the arts of extortion, not for their wiſdom or probity; from whence it naturally followed, that men of the meaneſt extraction often poſſeſſed the higheſt offices.

The ſtate of mankind is ſo corrupt, that actions even of the brigheſt hue frequently endanger the ſecurity of the actor, by the malice, envy, avarice, or ambition of other men. This has been in no country more verified in theſe latter ages, than in PERSIA. To thoſe uncommon talents which NADIR poſſeſſed, had he *joined* humanity and probity of mind, it would be reaſonable to think he might have been the inſtrument to prevent the ruin of that unhappy country. But could a man of probity rule over a people, whoſe corruption rendered them mature for deſtruction? Had the people been leſs vicious, the vices of the uſurper could not have been ſo deſtructive.

In extenuation of NADIR's crimes, great as they will ever be acknowledged, there was a moral certainty of his becoming a ſacrifice much ſooner, had he been poſſeſſed of leſs power. It was with him, as with many great wicked men before him; being advanced in the perilous paths of ambition, he found it dangerous to ſtop, and impoſſible to retreat with ſafety. Self-preſervation then called on him to march on, and explore the giddy heights from whence he fell, and involved his country in ſuch prodigious ruin. We are *apt to aſcribe even the* good actions of wicked men to ſiniſter purpoſes. There is no character without ſome ſhades and mixtures of virtue. In the beginning of his reign, NADIR diſpenſed juſtice with an equal hand, and affected the name of a juſt king. Great encouragement was given to appeal to him upon every occaſion of the extortion or illegal proceedings of his governors; no redreſs to be obtained but from his decrees: ſuch was the abo[illegible]tion of

of the people. Thus at a time when men of ſentiments might have ſome flattering expectations of happy conſequences from the victories of their ſovereign, the arts of venality prevailed ſo much, that even the royal decrees could not be carried into execution, without bribes and preſents.

It is an inconteſtable fact, that PERSIA was indebted to NADIR KOULI for her deliverance from the yoke of the AFGHANS: to him ſhe owed the reſtoration of her legal ſovereign; and by his valour and conduct the PERSIAN monarchy recovered, in a little more than eight years, the ſeveral dominions which had been torn from her during the weak and effeminate reign of SHAH HUSSEIN, and the invaſion of the AFGHANS; but that he acted on juſt principles, or poſſeſſed ſuch abilities as were neceſſary to ſecure all theſe advantages, the fondeſt panegyriſt never will pretend. On the contrary, it ſeems plain from the iſſue, that he was influenced by motives which eclipſe his beſt actions, and that he aſpired at the ſovereignty from his firſt defeat of the AFGHANS. Many cauſes co-incided to flatter the higheſt expectation that could be formed in his breaſt; of theſe the great corruption of the people muſt have been the chief; whilſt the weakneſs of SHAH TÆHMAS opened ſuch a proſpect to him of mounting to the ſupreme power, as could not be reſiſted by a man, in whoſe mind all moral conſiderations gave way to his ambition.

PART VII.

THE

SHORT AND UNFORTUNATE REIGN OF ADIL SHAH.

CHAP. XXXVI.

ALI KOULI KHAN *elected king of* PERSIA *at* MESCHED. *He ſends his brother* IBRAHIM MYRZA *to* ISFAHAN; *and commits ſeveral cruelties. He ſolicits the friendſhip of* RUSSIA. *The revolt of* AMUR ASLAN KHAN; *alſo of* IBRAHIM MYRZA. *The death of* ZORAB KHAN. *The defeat of* ADIL SHAH, *and his brother* IBRAHIM MYRZA, &c.

1747. EUROPE ſeems [redacted] very imperfectly acquainted with the conſequences of the death of the uſurper NADIR; even the RUSSIANS and the TURKS, who are beſt ſituated to receive information, have not, I believe, the moſt perfect accounts; and are moreover intereſted, either to conceal or miſrepreſent thoſe which reach them. The ſpilling of NADIR's blood has been a freſh ſource of calamities to the PERSIANS. I have mentioned ſome few particulars, ſo far as they relate to our unfortunate trade over the CASPIAN SEA [b]. All that I have to add, is a ſhort account of ſome events which followed the cataſtrophe of the uſurper.

It has been already obſerved, that MUSTAPHA KHAN was on an embaſſy to TURKEY, when NADIR's death happened. Providence ſeemed to interpoſe for his ſecurity, who was one of the very [redacted] men in

[b] See Vol. II. pages 87, &c.

in PERSIA. As he was prevented from being a ſpectator, it is probable 1747.
he eſcaped being a ſharer alſo, in the unhappy fate of his maſter. He was arrived in the TURKISH dominions when the news reached him; and he thought it neceſſary for his ſecurity to proceed with all his retinue to CONSTANTINOPLE. In the mean while, the TURKISH embaſſador, who was coming to confirm the peace lately concluded, had the good fortune to reach BAGDAT with all the valuable preſents which he was carrying to the PERSIAN court. As to KNEZ GALITZEN, the news of NADIR's violent death no ſooner arrived at RESHD, than he retired to ASTRACHAN by ſea, as well to inform his court of this extraordinary event, and provide for the ſafety of his own perſon, as to receive freſh inſtructions.

ALI KOULI KHAN now made no ſecret, that he had been the chief inſtigator of the conſpiracy againſt his uncle, and as ſuch was conſidered as beſt entitled to the diadem. As he had been governor of MESCHED, no officer could boaſt of ſuperior honours; and as the nephew of the late tyrant, he had been reſpected: but though he was ſo nearly related to NADIR, he had very little reſemblance in his diſpoſition; his temper was free, open and generous, nor was he without the reputation of being a good ſoldier.

The news of his uncle's death was no ſooner brought to him[x], than he came to MESCHED, where he put on the royal diadem, and took the name of ADIL SHAH[y], with the ſeeming applauſe of the inhabitants, and began his reign in a very popular manner. In conſideration of the great poverty of the people; he remitted the taxes over the whole empire, and performed other acts of clemency. But at the ſame time, according to the execrable policy of MAHOMMEDAN princes, he imbrued his hands in the blood of his neareſt relations. NESR ALI MYRZA firſt fell a ſacrifice to his jealouſy, nor did he ſpare the blind RIZA KOULI. Different accounts were given of his conduct towards SHAHROKH, the ſon of this blind prince,

[x] I[illegible]ce not unworthy of re[illegible], that the meſſenger who was ſent with NADIR's head to [illegible] loſt it by the way; and [illegible]ſave his credit, produced that of another man.

[y]

1747. prince, and grand-ſon [a] of NADIR. Whether the real SHAHROKH ſurvived this event, or not; one under this name, who pretended to be the identical perſon, ſoon after aſſumed the diadem, as we ſhall relate. Tho' ALI had the reputation of being humane; yet his cruelty did not ſtop at the deſtruction of the ſons of NADIR, for he alſo cauſed ſeveral of his uncle's women, who were with child, to be ripped up.

KÆLAT, with all the treaſure in it being ſurrendered up to him, to all appearance the moſt prudent ſtep which this new king could take, was to march immediately to ISFAHAN, and carry with him a great part of his riches. NADIR's army being for the moſt part diſperſed, he could have left a ſufficient number of troops on the eaſtern frontiers, and then raiſing a new army, eſtabliſh himſelf on the baſis of a military government, ſo eſſential to the ſupport of his ſovereignty. But he was blind to the danger to which he was expoſed, and triumphing in a fond ſecurity from his immenſe riches, abandoned himſelf to his favourite gratifications of women and wine, and ſent his brother IBRAHIM KHAN, whom we ſhall now call IBRAHIM MYRZA [a], to ISFAHAN, in order to raiſe recruits.

His next buſineſs was to excuſe himſelf for the ſhare he had in the murder of his uncle; and at the ſame time, to make his intentions known to the people, with regard to their future relief from that inſupportable tyranny, which had been exerciſed over them; ſo that this event might afford them all the joy and conſolation which was natural to expect from ſuch a deliverance.

The following decree, which he ſent to RESHD in the province of GHILAN, gives us an idea of the ſtate of affairs a few weeks after NADIR's death.

" WHEREIN

[a] According to the accounts we had at that time from PERSIA, it was doubtful whether the real SHAHROKH was put to death, or not; ſome report that he was previouſly ſent away into ſafe cuſtody; others, that he was preſent, but ſpared at the inſtigation of the prieſt, as the only remaining blood, on the mother's ſide, of the SEFFIE family. [a] As the br[illegible]ge, we now call him MYRZA, or prince.

1747.

" WHEREIN STANDS
" THE KINGDOM OF GOD,
" SHAH AND SOVEREIGN OF THE EMPIRE,
" A SERVANT OF ALI,
" A MANDATE WHICH THE WHOLE WORLD OBEYS [b].

" The noble and honourable CHEICH EL ISLAM [c]; the KAZZI [d]; the " elders and all subjects; the poor and oppressed inhabitants of RESHD, " LAHIJAN, RANCOUTE, KESKAR, FUMIN, SHEFTA, KUGDUM [e], and " the places thereunto belonging; to whom the Almighty has granted " his unutterable mercies; who are assured of, and exalted by our in- " comparable sovereign favour; shall KNOW, in what manner the wick- " edness of the barbarous monarch [f] hath prevailed. All nations and " languages, the exalted and the humble, the good and the bad subjects " of the empire of IRAN [g], are too well acquainted with his proceedings. " Their incessant cries and lamentations have reached even unto the " heavens. By putting out the eyes of the inhabitants, depriving them " of their lives; and selling the sons and daughters of mussulmen; even " the seven celestial circles [h] were moved to compassion. In a word, the " extortion of elphs [i] and crores [k] has been the cause of multitudes of " people losing their sight [l]; whilst the tyrannical monarch barbarously " erected lofty towers of human heads through the provinces, exceeding " all the cruelties of past ages. At length, our sovereign majesty com- " manded the most eminent and high instructed, MAHOMMED KOULI " KHAN, our KURCHI BASHI [m], that he should prevail on the AFSHAR " guards, to seize and remove the tyrant; thus performing a service " highly beneficial to the public welfare, restoring rest and tranquillity " to the nation. MAHOMMED KOULI KHAN did not refuse to obey.

" All

[b] This was the inscription on the royal signet, which they place at the head of the decree.
[c] Chief of religion. ISLAM we have observed signifies safety; by which is meant the MAHOMMEDAN religion. [d] judges. [e] These are districts in and about GHILAN.
[f] NADIR. [g] PERSIA. [h] The planets. [i] Five hundred thousand
[redacted];000 l. elphs, or five millions of crowns, or 1,250,000 l.
[redacted] in INDIA. [l] He here quotes a text out of the khoran, which
[redacted]ontradictory. I have [redacted] that the number of persons blinded, was not less
[redacted] this seems to be exaggerated. [m] Vol. III. p. 73.

1747. " All persons of distinction, and the whole army near our victorious and " splendent stirrup, were anxious to extirpate the deep-rooted violences " and oppressions of this tyrannical king. We therefore marched at the " head of our forces from FERAG and HERAT, and came with haste " for that purpose; but on our arrival on the borders of TERBEDSHAN, " news came that the AFSHAR guards had already seized the tyrant. In " the mean while there happened a commotion among the TARTARS [n], " for the suppression of which there was no other remedy than to give " the tyrant the reward of his actions.

" The fort of KÆLAT, which the late king had spent many years " in rendering impregnable, thanks to the Most High, was in one day " brought under our subjection by SEGRAB BEG, whom we sent thither " for that purpose.

" As soon as these happy tidings reached our ears, we marched to the " holy city of MESCHED, where all the ministers, commanding officers, " and persons of distiction present, did with one common voice intreat " our majesty to take upon us the government of the empire, to rebuild " the ruined houses, and repair the desolations of PERSIA. They pre- " sented as their intercessor the holy saint, who is buried in that city [o], " and would not desist from their importunity.

" When we considered the sad state of the PERSIANS for several years " past, who had been obliged not only to deliver up all their substance, " but themselves, and their families, to be slaughtered [p], we thought it " necessary to shew our sovereign favour to the oppressed; to appease " the wrath of heaven; to satisfy the creatures of GOD, and to gain the " love of the people. We have therefore been graciously pleased to order, " and do hereby command, that the new contributions in money [q], im- " posed

[n] ALI disguises the real fact, but gives some light in regard to the contest between the TARTARS and PERSIANS. He seems to assume the merit of removing his uncle, but yet to impute the execution to the AFSHARS, who were NADIR's body-guard. [o] The sepulchre of IMAM RIZA often mentioned. [p] Here he q[illegible] another text out of the [illegible] ou are " all shepherds, and every one craves from you;" by which I suppose is mean[illegible]ce of an abused authority, every subject was pillage[illegible] [q] Provision[illegible]es demanded.

" poſed on ſubjects and ſtrangers, ſhall from henceforward ceaſe and be 1747.
" annulled. We likewiſe diſcharge the collectors [r], who are in your
" province, and you are to ſend them to our court. But the money and
" effects belonging to the crown, which are already collected, ſhall be
" accounted for [s]. All the other revenues for this year, as alſo all taxes
" for the following two years, we do moſt graciouſly forgive, that the
" ſubjects of ISLAM, and all other religions, as likewiſe the INDIANS
" and others, who for ſome years have been ſubject to every kind of
" torture and oppreſſion, may enjoy an uninterrupted ſafety and tran-
" quillity, and ſollicit the MOST HIGH for our welfare.

" What concerns the ſupport of poſt-horſes [t], thoſe to whom this of-
" fice belongs ſhall take proper care; and for the future double the num-
" ber of horſes ſhall be kept at each ſtage, as was lately ordered; and
" the money for maintaining of them ſhall be taken out of the treaſury
" of the province. In caſe of any deficiency, a repreſentation being
" made to us, it ſhall be ſupplied from other treaſuries.

" For ſettling the accounts of this year, two or three writers and ca-
" lentars ſhall be ſent to our high court. And concerning the eſtates,
" which in the late reign were taken from numbers of the people, we
" ſhall order an inſpection to be made, and a circumſtantial account
" thereof to be ſent to us. And that every one may be ſatisfied in this
" particular, we ſhall without delay appoint a proper perſon for that pur-
" poſe. Given in the month of DSCHEMADIELSAM, 1160 [u]."

ALI having made ſome diſpoſitions for ſettling his government, he came with a body of forces to ſpend the remainder of the year at the palace of ASHREFF [w], near the midſt of the ſouth-coaſt of the CASPIAN SEA. In that ſituation he hoped to ſuppreſs any inſurrection that might ariſe in the northern provinces, preſuming that his brother IBRAHIM MYRZA would protect the ſouth, whilſt in caſe of neceſſity he might again direct his march

[r] MOHASILS. [s] The term is, entered in the caſh-book. [t] The reader will obſerve in [illegible] ſtages of theſe volumes, [illegible] the bad conduct of couriers was one of the grievous oppr[illegible] which PERSIA groaned. [u] About the beginning of JULY 1747.

[illegible] 293.

1747. march eaſtward. In the mean while AMUR ASLAN KHAN acknowledged the ſovereignty of this new king, and commanded in the weſt. This perſon was an officer of great experience, and had been a favourite of NADIR; he was now in SHIRVAN at the head of thirty thouſand men.

In order to confirm the peace which NADIR had made with the TURKS, ADIL SHAH ſent an envoy-extraordinary to the PORT, to ſignify his exaltation to the throne of PERSIA, and his inclination to live in harmony with the grand ſignior: this miniſter accordingly arrived there in APRIL 1748. It is eaſy to conceive how ill the TURKS would reliſh the advancement of a nephew of NADIR. That Providence had thus removed him, who had been ſo great an object of their terror, afforded great ſatisfaction; but their ambition was to ſee that army cruſhed, which had been ſo often the inſtrument of ſhedding ſuch ſtreams of their blood, and making their ſovereign tremble in his very capital. The reſult of this embaſſy was, that the two courts ſhould mutually ſend embaſſadors with the uſual pomp and formalities: in the mean while, we are left to imagine that the TURKISH partizans would not be idle in fomenting that civil diſcord in PERSIA, which they had found ſo advantageous; ſince without the expence of blood and treaſure, without danger or inconvenience, they could thus look on and ſee their natural enemy tearing out her own bowels.

ADIL SHAH was not leſs aſſiduous to cultivate the moſt perfect amity with the RUSSIANS. The retreat of the embaſſador KNEZ GALLITZEN from GHILAN, had given the PERSIAN miniſters ſome alarms. KOULIFA, who had been formerly embaſſador in RUSSIA, wrote to the RUSSIAN embaſſador in SEPTEMBER: the following extract contains the moſt material part of the letter:

"May your eminence's bleſſed health, by the grace of the Almighty, "endure to the end of the world. I have had the honour to write to "you ſeveral friendly letters, ſent through the hands of the moſt noble "and moſt honourable of the religion of MESSIAH, the reſident of the "high imperial court of RUSSIA; but I have not receiv[illegible]ſwer.

" I long with impatience for your arrival; GOD grant it may be ſoon, 1747.
" that we may once more happily ſee each other.

" I now acquaint you, as I have already done, that his majeſty, equal
" in dignity to ALEXANDER, and in ſervants to DARIUS, protector of the
" whole world, ADIL SHAH, whoſe reign may the Moſt High preſerve
" for ever, and my ſoul ſerve him as a ſacrifice, has been graciouſly
" pleaſed to mount the throne of IRAN. Thus by the help of GOD, the
" government of the whole empire is in the high power of his majeſty,
" the moſt gracious and juſt monarch. The fort KÆLAT, with all the
" treaſures and riches therein contained, is in his majeſty's poſſeſſion;
" and the enemies of his everlaſting court, thus eſtabliſhed by the Al-
" mighty, are utterly extirpated.

" It will appear to you by the copy of the mandate incloſed, that the
" moſt gracious monarch did imagine you yet reſided at RESHD, there-
" fore he commanded me to wait on your eminency; and ordered the
" moſt noble ACHMED KHAN to convoy you to MAZANDERAN, where
" the moſt worthy MAHOMMED ALI BEG, KHAJAR, of noble deſcent,
" will meet and conduct you with all due honour to the SHAH's high
" court. To conclude, I wiſh the days of bliſs may laſt for ever."

This letter was accompanied with long inſtructions from the SHAH to KOULIFA, to ſhew all poſſible honour to the embaſſador. ACHMED KHAN had alſo commands to the ſame purpoſe, all demonſtrative of his deſire of ſupporting the beſt correſpondence with his neighbours the RUSSIANS. Within very few weeks after NADIR's death, and before he came to the palace of ASHREFF, the SHAH himſelf ſent a letter to the embaſſador GALITZEN. Like others, it was marked with his ſeal at the head, viz.

" WHEREIN STANDS
" THE KINGDOM OF GOD,
" SOVEREIGN OF THE EMPIRE,
" A SLAVANT OF ALI.

" The

1747. "The moſt eminent, high appointed, noble and high intruſted embaſſador, from the moſt exalted imperial court of RUSSIA, KNEZ GALITZEN, ſhall be aſſured of our ſovereign favour, and KNOW, that the vile diſpoſition and corrupted nature of the late monarch ſurpaſſed all bounds. How cruel his proceedings have been, you will be circumſtantially informed in due time.

"At preſent you are acquainted that our ſovereign majeſty, by the grace and aſſiſtance of GOD, has been highly pleaſed to take the throne of the PERSIAN empire; at which time it has been repreſented to us, that your eminence has been ſent here as an embaſſador, from the moſt puiſſant and imperial court of RUSSIA; and that the moſt eminent SERDAR [x], AMUR ASLAN KHAN, NEDSCHEFF BEG, and other commanders did receive your eminence on the borders of PERSIA, but made ſuch bad preparations for your journey through SHIRVAN, as created a diſguſt, for which they ſhall be accountable.

"And whereas it has been repreſented to our majeſty, that your eminence is endowed with good underſtanding, a quick inſight, and a decent behaviour in all things [y]; and ſent expreſſly with ſo great a power to our high court, to eſtabliſh amity; therefore we hope you will not be offended on account of theſe accidents. And as we are inclined to ſupport the friendſhip and harmony between our ſovereign majeſty and her imperial majeſty of RUSSIA; and likewiſe to ſhew you all honour, we deſire you will proceed with the utmoſt confidence to our high court. Given in the month of REDSHEBEL 1160 [z]."

This new king was too much inclined to peace, to neglect the cultivation of a good underſtanding with his neighbours; and to be wanting in nothing that could be agreeable to RUSSIA, he prepared an embaſſy with a view to make a defenſive and offenſive alliance with that court, and alſo a treaty of commerce, which might be beneficial to the ſubjects of both empires. Emiſſaries from the PERSIAN court were actually

[x] General. [y] This is the common flattering ſtile of the PERSIAN [illegible] [z] The beginning of JULY 1747, ſent from MESCHED. The new SHAH was yet a [illegible] appointed convoys for the embaſſador, to conduct him from ASTRABAD [illegible] and ESPERA[illegible]

ally sent to ASTRACHAN[a]. The RUSSIANS proceed with great caution in their oriental treaties, and generally divert the PERSIANS in the laſt mentioned city for ſeveral months, before they conduct them to court. Under the precarious circumſtances of the PERSIAN king, doubtleſs many reaſons occurred for acting with reſerve. 1747.

The beginning of this year opened a new ſcene, not leſs fatal or bloody than any of the preceding. AMUR ASLAN KHAN, who commanded in the weſtern provinces, and reſided at TAVRIS, already gave indications of his deſign to revolt. The SHAH being arrived at ASHREFF, ſent ſeveral meſſages to him, deſiring him to come to court: he feigned various excuſes, and at length threw off the maſk by killing the couriers whom the king had appointed to conduct him. This event was ſoon followed by an act of hoſtility, not only in violation of his duty as a ſubject, but alſo of the laws of juſtice and hoſpitality. To what extremities will not a falſe ambition hurry its votaries! This KHAN, who was the exact copy of his tutor and late maſter NADIR SHAH, began to be ſenſible of the impoſſibility of ſupporting an army without money; nor could he procure any conſiderable ſupplies from ADERBEITZAN, SHIRVAN, or any of the neighbouring provinces where his juriſdiction reached: he therefore reſolved to obtain by robbery, what he could not procure by any appearance of equity. He knew that the ENGLISH factors in RESHD were poſſeſſed of a ſum of money, which no doubt was repreſented to him as much larger than it really was; he therefore ſent RIZA KOULI KHAN with a body of ſeventeen hundred AFGHANS, to pillage theſe unfortunate ſtrangers, who had given him no offence. Theſe forces arrived in RESHD the twentieth of JANUARY. The governor, ACHMED KHAN, retired to LAHIJAN, not being in a capacity to protect the city: thus they were left to follow the dictates of their own wild ſuggeſtions; whilſt the villainy of ſome of the inhabitants prompted them to ſhare the plunder, by purchaſing the ſtolen goods at a very inconſiderable price[b]. The ENGLISH factors took the precaution to retire with their money; but their effects became a prey, and were totally pil[illegible] with circumſtances that proved the madneſs of the times, and the 1748.

[a] See Vol. II. page 93.

[b] See Vol. II. page 90.

1748. the deſtructive conſequences[c] of civil war. The city of RESHD however eſcaped being plundered; for it ſeemed to be the intention of AMUR ASLAN KHAN, to ſupport ſome reputation, in hopes of being acknowledged in a very ſhort time as the ſovereign of PERSIA.

The news of this incurſion no ſooner reached ASHREFF, than ADIL SHAH diſpatched a body of his troops to RESHD. The AFGHANS, loaded with their plunder, were marching back, but were reached no further than KESKAR, when ACHMED KHAN, at the head of the SHAH's troops, came up with them, and totally defeated them[d]. Their ſpoil fell into the hands of the SHAH's froces, who it was but natural to expect, as they were ſent for the ſupport of government, and the ſuccour of the injured, ſhould have made it their chief buſineſs to obtain reſtitution; but this was a degree of virtue which they did not even attempt. AMUR ASLAN KHAN having met with this defeat, reſolved to remain only on the defenſive; he was already in correſpondency with the king's brother, IBRAHIM MYRZA, and if we may judge from circumſtances, was the chief promoter of the rebellion of this young prince againſt his brother; ſecretly intending to reap the fruits of that quarrel, in which he hoped to ſee them ſoon involved; ſince, by playing one againſt the other, his expectations were in the higheſt degree flattered, that he ſhould obtain the diadem himſelf.

ADIL SHAH finding that he had a formidable enemy to contend with in the weſt, ſent orders to his brother IBRAHIM in ISFAHAN, to come to his ſuccour with a large body of forces, deſigning as ſoon as the ſpring was a little farther advanced, to march againſt AMUR ASLAN KHAN. IBRAHIM, who was now only twenty-two years of age, *in the vanity of* his heart, thought it abſurd, at the head of a numerous body of forces, to be any thing leſs than a king: the revolt of AMUR ASLAN KHAN had, in his fond imagination, prepared ſo eaſy a means of obtaining the diadem, that he had little more to do than to receive it. But in order to bring about another revolution, it was neceſſary to render his brother's government odious to the people, at leaſt to ſecure the inclination of the officers and

[c] See Vol. II. page 90, 91.

[d] See Vol. II. [redacted]

and ſoldiers under his command. Here again religion was the plea, and the very motive which ought to have diſpoſed their minds to a grateful ſubmiſſion to the diſpenſation of providence, was proſtituted to the purpoſes of wild ambition. 1748.

ALI KOULI KHAN, from a certain generoſity of diſpoſition, had ever ſince he was appointed governor of MESCHED, ſhewn a particular regard to the chriſtians: his favourite wife was a GEORGIAN lady of the religion of her country, and for whom he had an entire affection. Being now advanced to the regal dignity, he promoted her brother ZORAB KHAN to the office of his treaſurer, and commander of his army. The SHAH ſeemed in this to err in judgment, as it had not been lately a practice to commit ſo high a truſt to one born a chriſtian, and who, it might be preſumed, ſtill inclined to that perſuaſion. This was the pretended cauſe of IBRAHIM'S diſaffection to his brother.

The SHAH had ſoon reaſon to fear that the authority which he had given to IBRAHIM MYRZA to raiſe forces, was not employed agreeably to his intentions. Under this apprehenſion, he ſent his brother-in-law ZORAB KHAN to ISFAHAN with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his affection, and with promiſes to gratify him in any thing that was reaſonable; and that he might ſee by the dignity of the meſſenger, in what high eſteem he held him. It is reaſonable to preſume that the SHAH was ſincere, and from thence flattered himſelf into a belief that his brother IBRAHIM might be won over to a ſenſe of duty. If theſe were not his ſentiments, it was highly impolitic to truſt his brother-in-law in the poſſeſſion of his enemy: the event proved that this young man was not to be brought over by intreaties, for ZORAB KHAN ſoon after his arrival was treacherouſly put to death as he was bathing.

IBRAHIM MYRZA having thus thrown off the maſk, wrote to MEHTIE KHAN [a], one of the SHAH'S generals, inviting him and the ſoldiers under his command to take part with him againſt the king. He could not corrupt this general, but he brought over part of his forces. The

SHAH

[a] This is the man who wrote NADIR'S hiſtory, which has never yet appeared in the world, nor probably will.

1748. SHAH finding his ſecurity thus endangered, wrote to his brother in very affectionate and pathetic terms, repreſenting the dreadful calamities of civil war, and that his revolt muſt neceſſarily bring on the total ruin of their poor country, already in an expiring condition, with the wounds it had received by the cruelty and ambition of their uncle: at the ſame time he made propoſals of a compoſition, which might gratify his brother's deſire of a ſtate in a great meaſure independent. Thoſe who wiſhed well to the tranquillity of PERSIA, flattered themſelves with ſome hopes, that poſſibly the two brothers might, by ſharing the ſovereignty, unite in one common intereſt, and by quaſhing AMUR ASLAN KHAN, reſtore the kingdom to peace; but that was only a fond preſumption: the ſame diſpoſition which determined IBRAHIM to revolt, rendered a compromiſe of that kind impracticable, were ſuch union conſiſtent in the nature of things.

In the mean while, the minds of the people were diſtracted with anxiety, concerning the iſſue of a war, which would probably afford occaſion for freſh competitions, and involve their unhappy country in inextricable miſeries. No recourſe now remained but that of arms. In the month of MAY, ADIL SHAH marched with a great body of forces from MAZANDERAN, through a narrow paſs in mount TAURUS, towards the plains of CASBIN, where he had appointed his rendezvous. ACHMED KHAN, with a ſtrong reinforcement from GHILAN, was ordered to march through the ſtreights of that province to meet him. IBRAHIM MYRZA at the head of his army, had already left ISPAHAN, and having notice of the intended junction of his brother's armies, made forced marches in order to intercept ACHMED KHAN, which he accompliſhed without the loſs of any blood. This unhappy general fell in with the enemy's camp early in the morning, miſtaking it for a body of forces belonging to the SHAH his maſter, and was taken priſoner by IBRAHIM MYRZA. We have already mentioned, that ACHMED KHAN gave the firſt check to the arms of AMUR ASLAN KHAN. IBRAHIM therefore thought he could not make his court more agreeably to his confederate, than by ſending this general to be ſacrificed. AMUR ASLAN was too much a copy of NADIR, to have any mercy; and ordered ACHMED as ſoon

as

as he arrived, to be brought to the entrance of his tent, where he gratified his revenge, by ſeeing him cut to pieces. 1748.

ADIL SHAH advancing towards his rebellious brother, who feigned a retreat, was drawn into a ſnare. Being attacked in flank by a great body of AFGHANS, he was deſerted by his army in ſo ſhameful a manner, that he loſt the day without putting it to the iſſue of a battle. He behaved with great perſonal valour and intrepidity, killing ſeveral with his own hands; till at length ſeeing his forces ſcattered, he left the field, and retired to TABRIAN. There finding himſelf abandoned, and utterly incapable of collecting his army, after three days he went to IBRAHIM's camp, and ſurrendered himſelf; the only proof of mercy he received from this unnatural brother, was in being ſuffered to live a ſhort time; but in that interval it was not permitted him to ſee his brother, nor even to enjoy the light, for his eyes were cut out immediately.

Thus ended the ſhort and unhappy reign of ADIL SHAH. He was a man of an eaſy placid temper, and might in times of leſs corruption have made a good king; but he does not appear to have had a genius equal to ſo weighty a taſk, as the government of ſo impious a people. All we can ſay of him is, that he has been the only prince ſince NADIR, who has been conſidered as a ſovereign by any foreign ſtate: that he meant to ſupport his government upon principles the reverſe of NADIR's; and, had he lived, that he would, to all appearance, have done juſtice to thoſe[f], who ſuffered by the villainy of AMUR ASLAN KHAN.

Notwithſtanding his ſucceſs, IBRAHIM retained the name of MYRZA, declining that of SHAH. It is probable he was the more induced to this reſerve, by the tokens which AMUR ASLAN KHAN immediately gave of a deſign of uſurping the ſovereignty. This KHAN was turned of ſixty years of age, and could not but conſider IBRAHIM as a boy by no means entitled to the diadem, compared with himſelf. He was at the head of thirty thouſand men enured to war under the command of NADIR, and had

[f] The BRITISH merchants mentioned already.

1748. had acquired a great proficiency in the ſcience of arms, as well as political intrigue. In the laſt he had already ſucceeded, by having been one great inſtrument in the defeat of ADIL SHAH. He was too much of the genius of his old maſter, to promiſe PERSIA that repoſe for which ſhe languiſhed, but which never could be found by means ſo apparently deſtructive of the end.

1749. After reſting his troops, and dividing the ſpoil taken from his brother, IBRAHIM prepared for a viſit to AMUR ASLAN KHAN, and for that purpoſe directed his march towards SHIRVAN. Youthful as he was, he acted the politician, preferring the removal of his competitor by aſſaſſination, rather than to put his fortune to the iſſue of a battle. Art and contrivance not founded in juſtice, often betray their own cauſe. The crafty AMUR ASLAN was thus taken in the ſnare he had laid for others, and fell a ſacrifice to his ambition. What became of his army is not ſaid, we may preſume it was diſperſed.

In the mean while the eaſtern parts of the empire being left unawed by the preſence of an army, the inhabitants eſpouſed the cauſe of the young SHAHROKH already mentioned; and he was declared king, at MESCHED. The officers and perſons of diſtinction in that quarter were the more diſpoſed to take this ſtep, as it gave them an opportunity, under the name of a regal authority, to poſſeſs themſelves of the great riches which yet remained at KÆLAT. In ſuch a confuſion of affairs, PERSIA might be eaſily impoſed on with regard to the identity of this perſon: happy were it for that diſtracted country, if ſuch impoſition could have reſtored it to tranquillity.

IBRAHIM MYRZA was now informed concerning his new adverſary. Fluſhed with conqueſt, he had extended his liberality beyond the prudence of a general, or the experience of more advanced years. At length he found himſelf grown poor and incapable of gratifying the demands of his army, which was chiefly compoſed of AFGHANS, not diſpoſed to follow their leader, without either pay, or proviſion. There was no poſſibility of exacting contributions in a country already drained, not of money only,

only, but of almoſt every thing neceſſary to the ſupport of life. Many 1749.
of his ſoldiers knowing where to find another maſter, who was reputed rich, deſerted. What conſtancy could he expect from men who had juſt turned their arms againſt a prince whom they acknowledged a few months before as the deliverer of their country from the yoke of inſupportable tyranny! Thus circumſtanced, IBRAHIM was induced to haſten his march eaſtward, as well to obtain a freſh ſupply of money, as to quaſh his enemy. He had not advanced far, when he met with ſome partiſans of SHAHROKH. His van-guard having reached TÆHIRAN, were refuſed a ſupply of proviſions: IBRAHIM immediately ſent EMIR KHAN, the general of his artillery, with his cannon and a ſtrong detachment, to compel the inhabitants to a compliance. It appears that EMIR KHAN had no opinion of his maſter's cauſe, or was ſecretly diſſatisfied; in ſhort, he took the opportunity to abandon IBRAHIM, and join his opponents: for as ſoon as this prince came under the walls of the town, EMIR KHAN turned the cannon upon him, and ſallying out at the ſame time, by this unexpected attack diſperſed his army. It is probable that IBRAHIM ended his life upon this occaſion, as we hear nothing more of him from that time. Thus did Providence bring to confuſion this raſh youth, who with leſs vanity, and a little more underſtanding, might have operated with his brother, and inſtead of involving his country in miſery, reſtored it to a proſperous condition.

SHAHROKH SHAH was now without a competitor. During theſe com- 1750.
[illegible] the AFGHANS of KANDAHAR, or ſome other ſubjects in the eaſtern frontier [g], revolted: SHAHROKH having formed a conſiderable army, marched againſt them. What the ſucceſs of this enterprize was, my authorities are ſilent: but in his abſence from KHORASAN, appeared a fifth competitor. There was an uncle of SHAH TÆHMAS, named SULIMAN, who, during the reign of NADIR, having given no marks of ambition, and taken the habit of a MULLAH, lived quiet and unmoleſted. This man was now dragged to the throne as it were on purpoſe to be ſlaughtered: his adherents had prevailed on him to aſſume the diadem; but his reign was very ſhort, for upon SHAHROKH's return he be-

[g] This particular I never heard with any exactneſs.

1750. came a ſacrifice. It is ſaid that one ISMAEL then ſet up againſt SHAHROKH. We have great reaſon to believe, that the latter, for ſome time, promiſed fair to maintain himſelf in the throne, till at length he was obliged to yield to SHAH DOUB, of whoſe family I have no information.

HERACLIUS, a GEORGIAN prince, then appeared on the ſtage, whoſe fortune is yet ſaid to prevail over all competition. This prince's being a chriſtian, ſeems to render his eſtabliſhment very difficult; nor is it eaſy to imagine that the TURKS will be idle ſpectators of a chriſtian king of PERSIA. They have already had the ſatisfaction to ſee the deepeſt humiliation of their hereditary enemy. NADIR, who died their fields with blood, and whoſe very name ſo often made them tremble, has, by the conſequences of his tyranny, reduced PERSIA more effectually, than could have been performed by any foreign enemy. Though the ſword is not the juſt inſtrument of propagating the faith of the true MESSIAH, yet it is a circumſtance worthy of attention, that the GEORGIANS are a very brave people, and may, by the countenance of the RUSSIANS, be capable of carrying greater deſigns into execution than the world is at preſent aware of.

When we conſider the fate of kingdoms, we ought to obſerve, how men are led aſtray by their paſſions, againſt the light of their own minds. How infatuated were the PERSIANS, or how loſt to all ſenſe of virtue, after a ſeries of bitter calamities, to depoſe their true king, when the experience of ages had taught them there could be no ſecurity under [redacted] uſurper. But what were they to expect from ſuch a king [redacted] KOULI, whoſe hands were ſo deeply imbrued in blood? What could be expected, but that a man of his genius and principles, bred up to murder and rapine from his earlieſt life, would bring all things into confuſion? Yet even in the politer regions of the world, ſuch are the impreſſions which mankind ordinarily receive from military atchievements, that events which ought to draw tears for the diſtreſſes of human nature, are made the ſubject of joy and exultation, till a reverſe of fortune gives a quick ſenſe of the fatal effects of ſuch falſe glory. How execrably pernicious are the fond notions of happineſs, ariſing from the ſucceſsful

ful invaſion of another's right! Crimes, for which every law, divine and human, condemn a private man to death, become warrantable by the laws of arms. What wiſdom and integrity ought to wield the ſword, which at beſt is but the inſtrument of divine juſtice for the correction of national crimes and offences! 1750.

It cannot be from the original conſtitution of things, that the Almighty has ordained war as eſſential to the well-being of mankind. The ſtate of nature is a ſtate of peace; but the ſhedding of human blood becomes familiar by habit, and a continued courſe of foreign wars prepares the minds of a people for every deſperate enterprize, of which the worſt is inteſtine broils; and theſe have at length extinguiſhed the glory of PERSIA. What the fate of that wretched country will be, heaven only knows: but this is evident, that the ſplendor of their monarchy, all their monuments of art and labour, with all the induſtry of paſt ages, are ſwallowed up by the ravages of war. What numbers of their towns, their cities, their fruitful plains and delicious mountains, are become a dreary waſte, and the habitation of wolves!

The fate of empires is a ſubject the moſt intereſting. Reaſon and religion teach us to implore the almighty diſpoſer of events, to ſuccour mankind in general; we ought then to ſend up our prayers, that his mercy may extend to the PERSIANS, and reſtore them to a juſt ſenſe of virtue, that their nation may again become great and happy.

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To VOL. III. and IV.

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